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ABSTRACT

One in a series of four histories of native Nevadans, this volume relates the history of the Western Shoshone, or Newe, whose territory included parts of the Great Basin area which extends from southern California to Idaho. Based on the spoken word of tribal elders and research conducted at numerous archives, the history begins with ancient culture and traces the arrival of white travelers and settlers, the usurpation of Newe lands, the establishment of reservations, and the present concerns and activities of tribal groups. The first chapter describes the traditional culture, including hunting and harvesting activities associated with each season, family life, religion, legends, and ceremonies. Chapters two through five cover the period from the arrival of the first white trapper in 1827 through the establishment of the first reservation in 1877. Discussion focuses on the impact of the Gold Rush of 1849, the Mormon settlements, government agents, the military presence around the time of the Civil War, and the treaties that were made with and broken by the United States government. The final chapter consists of 11 sections, each devoted to a present day Newe reservation or colony, describing the distinctive features of each group's original culture and the key events in its history. The book includes maps, photographs and illustrations, the texts of the 1855 and 1863 treaties, footnotes, and a bibliography of nearly 200 entries. (JH)

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NEWE:
A Western Shoshone History

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Introduction

A people's history is an integral part of the present, for we can understand the present only through learning the past. For too long the history of the Great Basin area, and particularly Nevada, has lacked a very significant point of view. Although white authors have written many volumes about the area's native people, their bias emerges in inaccuracies, distortions, and even racism. This interpretation has strengthened racism as well as hindered historical study. Most white authors immediately labelled the native people "poor" or "destitute," "murderers" and "savages." Others, somewhat more tactful, only implied these false judgments.

In this book the native people convey their past as it was, relying heavily on the spoken word of tribal elders. No Native American would question their wisdom and knowledge of the past. Anyone who is truly interested in gaining a wider perspective on both the past and the present, regardless of his background, will find this history an enlightening experience.

The Western Shoshone of Nevada call themselves "Newe," a word which means "The People." Before the whites arrived, they used this term only to refer to the Shoshone people. As the "Taibo" (white people) intruded in the area, the Shoshone extended the term "Newe" to include Indian people in general.

The "Taibo" brought many changes to the land and its people. In the old days Newe were free, there was plenty to eat, and times were good. The Newe knew how to use the many available foods without ever abusing the land. When the unwelcome intruders poured into their lands, the Newe saw this way of life disappear. Suddenly the "Taibo" considered everything theirs. They abused the area's resources and illegally occupied the land. They built fences and made laws which the Newe are still fighting today.

To "give" the native people a place to live, the government created reservations and colonies, keeping the Indians out of lands whites had stolen from them. Until 1934 the Indians had no voice in their own affairs, even on the reservations. The Indian Reorganization Act allowed them to elect leaders and have some political expression. However, the intruders' laws remained in force. Today

the Newe have taken these conflicts into the courts, hoping to preserve and restore their traditional rights and the resources of their land. Students reading this book may come to understand more about Newe life, the changes the intruders brought to the area, and the hopes, rights, and visions of a people too long oppressed and ignored.

Temme Nanewenee
(Our Ancestors)

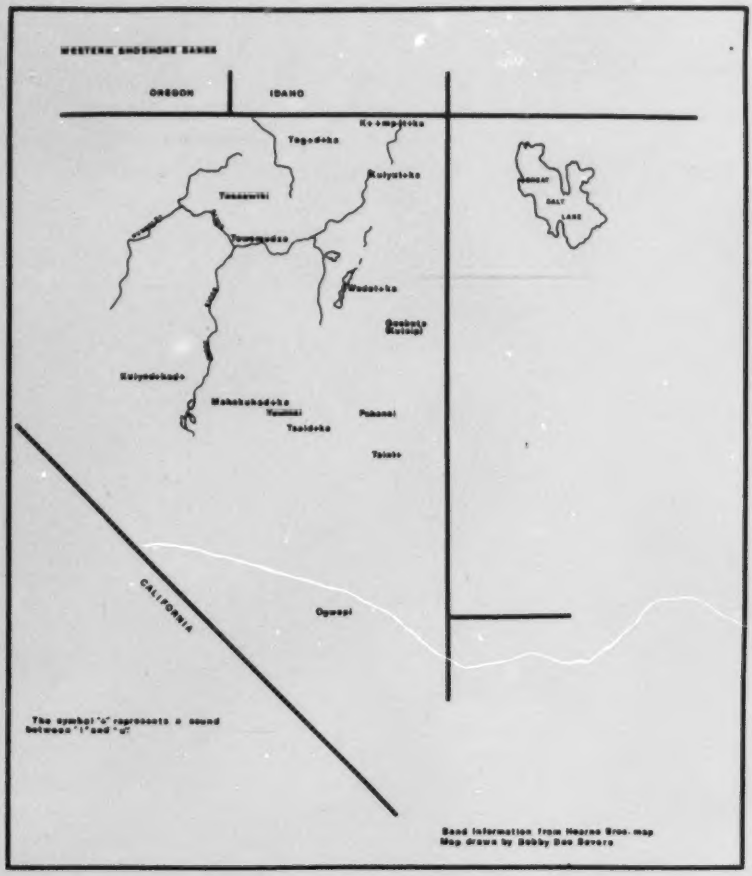
> Shoshone Indians always lived here. They camped near the springs in the mountains and at night their campfires could be seen glowing. . . . They used to burn an area of sagebrush so that plants would grow where they burned. These plants, they would then harvest . . . but they no longer grow anymore.[1]

Newe territory covered parts of Nevada, Utah, Idaho, and southern California. Traditional Newe lands reached from the Death Valley area through Beatty and Lida in the southwest, through the center of Nevada, including the Ely and Golconda areas, to northern boundaries in northwestern Utah and Southern Idaho.

This land contained a great many resources. The rich valleys provided much of the Newe food supply. Springs, trees, a wide variety of plant life, and many kinds of wildlife filled the high mountains surrounding the valleys. Even the sagebrush-covered desert areas were far from barren, containing vegetation and animal life in abundance.

Originating from a spot near Wells, in the northeastern corner of Nevada, the Humboldt River flowed across the state and disappeared in the Humboldt Sink, forming a lake and a large marshland. Chest-high grass and hundreds of beaver flourished along the Humboldt. The river and its tributaries, including the Reese River and the Little Humboldt, supplied water for plants and wildlife. Many animals lived in the abundant foliage near the rivers and streams. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, rabbits, many small animals, and perhaps even a few buffalo filled Newe land. Hundreds of varieties of birds, including ducks, geese, grouse, and sagehens, could be found in Newe territory. To the Newe, who knew it well, the land was rich. It provided for all their needs until the white man disrupted it: ". . . the Indians were never hungry, the whites say the Indians were starving. They may have been, but it is because of the whiteman when he took all of the land for his farms and cattle." [2]

3


WESTERN SHOSHONE BANDS
OREGON
IDAHO
Yagodeka
Kuiyuteka
Tosawihi
Tenabodeka
Kuiyudokado
Mahahobodeka
Yanimpi
Tsoideka
Pohanei
Toiyabe
CALIFORNIA
Ogwopi
The symbol "ö" represents a sound between "i" and "u"
Band information from Heizer Bros. map
Map drawn by Bobby Dee Bevers

The Newe, like the other residents of the Great Basin area, lived in a well-planned, time-proven way. The patterns of their lives corresponded with nature. In the Newe environment, there could be no wasted time, no aimless wandering, no "guessing." The Newe usually ranged over a fair amount of territory in the seasonal pattern of life. Some people, depending on their particular areas and the food resources available to them, were more mobile than others. The Newe harvested the fruits, seeds, and roots of many plants at the proper time of the year. They hunted many animals for food and material. In all of their activities, the people took care not to upset the delicate balance of their unique environment.

The Newe were not materialistic. Using what nature provided, they made everything that they needed. Because they realized that all parts of life were intricately interrelated, the Newe had a deep respect for all things.

Different activities were important in each of the four seasons: *Tahmani* (Spring), *Tatza* (Summer), *Yepani* (Fall), and *Tommo* (Winter). In early spring when the snow remained on the ground in places, the Newe hunted the *yaha* (groundhog). The men did most of the hunting.[3] *Yaha* lived in high rocky ridges, among the rocks. The hunters put a carved hardwood hook into the animal's den. When the *yaha* bit down, the hook lodged in its jaw, allowing the hunter to pull the animal out and kill it. *Sippe* (ground squirrels), which came out of hibernation a little later in the spring, also provided food for the Newe. The hunters caught both *yaha* and *Sippe* when the animals were still fat from the winter's hibernation. The Newe prepared both *yaha* and *Sippe* in the same manner. They made a small slit below the animal's front leg and gutted the animal, leaving the skin intact. Then they inserted the leg in the incision,[4] skewered the animal with a sharp stick, and singed its hair off over the fire. The women placed the meat in the ground, covered it with hot coals, and left it to roast. Later the Newe removed the meat from the coals and peeled the skin away, exposing the tasty meat, which had been kept clean, moist, and tender by the skin.

The Newe also hunted many kinds of birds for food. In the early spring, hunters caught *hutsa* (sagehens) with *wana* (nets). Every year the *hutsa* gathered in specific areas to mate. During the mating ritual the birds strutted about. The roosters puffed up their airsacks,

making a popping noise at intervals. While the *hutsa* were engaged in the mating activities, one hunter, disguised as an antelope, moved among the strutting birds. Other hunters spread *wana* over the sagebrush. The disguised hunter, imitating a grazing antelope, slowly drove the *hutsa* toward the net. When a number of birds were directly beneath the *wana*, the hunter suddenly threw off his antelope disguise. The startled *hutsa* flew upward and were trapped in the woven willow net.[5]

In the spring many young plants appeared. The Newe used the fruits, seeds, leaves, and roots of the plants for both food and medicine. In the early spring Newe women gathered the wild onions which grew thickly on the hillsides among the sagebrush. Using a tool made from an antelope or deer horn, or a sharp stick, the women and children dug up the onion bulbs, which grew a few inches below the ground. The Newe gathered many kinds of plants and prepared them in a number of ways. Some, like fresh watercress, morning glory roots, sego roots, cattail roots, and young cattail stems, were eaten raw. Others, like wild asparagus, could also be roasted, boiled, or dried for winter use.[6]

The Newe also gathered hundreds of varieties of plants for medicines. These natural medicines were used to cure colds, sores, rheumatism, and other ailments. The Newe always prayed and left an offering before they picked any medicinal plants.[7] Today many of the plants the Newe gathered for food and medicine no longer exist. The introduction of livestock, large-scale cultivation, and plowing has eliminated many native plants.

Plants in the mountain areas grew thickly, watered by the heavy snows of the past winter. These plants also stayed green longer than those in the valleys below. While the women and children gathered *yomba* (wild carrots) and other plants, the men fished for mountain trout. The summer camps in the mountains were located near springs filled with cool clear water.[8] These springs flowed into larger streams which contained abundant fish.

In the valleys the Newe harvested *pasigo* (camas root). Early in the spring the blue camas flowers covered the valleys. When the plants ripened, the women used their digging sticks to collect bulbs. The Newe piled the bulbs in small mounds; later the women dried the camas roots in the sun so that they could be stored for

winter. The bulbs could also be roasted, and, after the outer layer was removed, flattened and dried. As the days grew warmer, berries and other seed-bearing plants matured. Along the streams, clusters of ripening berries loaded the bushes. Summer was a plentiful and busy season.

Since the Newe harvested plants in the same areas year after year, the various Newe groups travelled to well-established summer camps. When they returned to a camp in the summer, the frames of their *hekikahni* (shade houses) remained from the previous year. They covered the frames of the summer houses with fresh, sweet-smelling branches. In each summer home, the Newe kept the tools they needed to harvest and prepare the foods. Each family had an assortment of baskets, water jugs, and cooking pots. They also kept a large grinding stone, a small handstone, and a flat willow basket, which they used to prepare pine nuts and seeds.

Many seeds matured in early fall. Wild rye grass seeds were roasted and made into flour. The Newe picked sunflower seeds when the blossoms had withered, exposing the seeds. Most sunflower seeds were dried for winter use, but the Newe women also ground some of them into meal which was made into gravy.

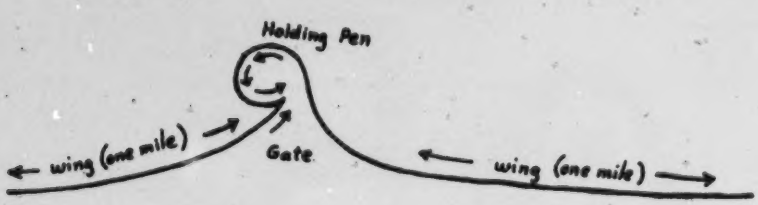
In the early fall the Newe harvested currants, buckberries, and service berries. Chokecherries, which hung in heavy dark clusters on bushes in the mountains, were gathered later in the fall. The berries were dried in the sun on loosely-woven, flat baskets which allowed the air to circulate around the fruits. The berries could be eaten fresh or prepared in a number of ways. Newe women ground chokecherries, shaped cakes from the pulp, and placed these cakes in the sun to dry, turning them frequently. They made a pudding from wild currants. Buckberries could be ground and made into a pudding, as well as eaten fresh or dried for the winter.[9]

In late fall the Newe gathered pine nuts, one of the most important food sources. The harvest took place at a time when food was abundant; fresh game was plentiful, and piles of stored plants and dried meat were ready for the winter. Before the harvest began, the Newe held a celebration. When the people arrived, the pine nut chief or doctor began the ceremony by throwing a handful of pine nuts in four directions and asking the Maker to provide a good harvest. Under the leadership of the pine nut chief, the Newe danced

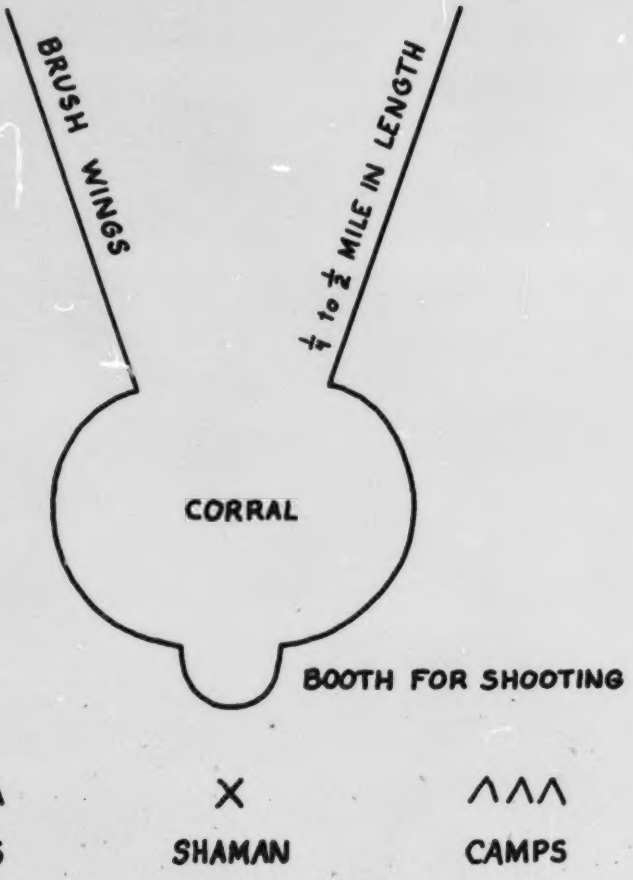
The Newe still play the handgame at gatherings and celebrations. This psychologically competitive game, which survived in spite of white opposition, remains popular. (Courtesy of Willie F. Woods).

for three nights. When the dance ended, the people bathed and left to pick the nuts.[10]

The pine nuts could be eaten fresh, but many were stored for the winter. They were prepared in several ways. Some cones were placed in the ground, covered with pine branches, and stored until winter or early spring. Others were roasted with coals. When the shells were removed, the roasted nuts were ground into flour. The Newe kept this flour for later use and mixed it with water to make a delicious gravy.[11]



A Goshute antelope corral followed this pattern. Hunters drove the antelope along the wings of the corral into the holding pen. Inside the pen, the animals ran in a circle. When the Newe had trapped enough kwahata, *they closed the gate. (Drawn by Leo Pete, as told to him by his father).*



Antelope corrals like this one were located in Ruby Valley, Mud Springs, and the area east of Wells, Nevada. (Courtesy of Earl F. Wright, "Ruby Valley Shoshone," August 14, 1958).

Fall was also an important hunting season. The antelope drive, which took place in the fall, required the cooperation of many hunters. The medicine man always directed this hunt; his power over the *kwahata* (antelope) insured a successful hunt. Before the hunt began, the Newe made many preparations, both physical and mental. The men constructed a corral of sagebrush, cedar trees, and rocks, which was approximately two miles long and three or four feet high. All

the hunters met at a site selected by the medicine man before the hunt. The men prayed to ask the power of the arrow for a successful hunt. Then the medicine man placed the arrow on the sagebrush to the east of the meeting site. The arrow was left there overnight. At daybreak it was retrieved and examined. If the arrow had *ḳwahata* hair on it, the hunt would be successful; if it did not, the Newe would wait for another time.

If the signs promised a good hunt, the drive began early in the morning. Because the drive required the hunters to travel twenty miles or more, the hunt had to begin early in the day. Only the most physically fit men took part in the drive. Since each herd of *ḳwahata* had one leader which the others always followed, the Newe could gain an advantage over the herd by killing the leader and leaving the rest of the herd disorganized. The men drove the animals toward the corral. When the *ḳwahata* reached the outer arms of the enclosure, the Newe drove them into a pen in the center of the corral. Since the animals did not jump, they could not escape.

The Newe trapped the *ḳwahata* in the corral, closed the opening, and left the animals overnight. The following day they killed some and turned the remainder loose. The Newe never killed more animals than they needed. No part of the animal was wasted, for this was the Newe way. The Newe ate the meat and tanned the hides to make shoes and clothing. They made digging tools from the horns, used the bones to make various tools and utensils, and sewed with sinew from the tendons.[12]

Rabbit drives were also held in the fall. Newe hunted rabbits throughout the year, but they held large drives in the fall when the rabbits' fur was thick. Everyone, from the youngest children to the very old, took part in the drive. Under the direction of the *ḳammu taiḳwahni* (rabbit chief), the Newe drove the *ḳammu* (rabbits) into a *wana* (net) and killed the trapped animals. They ate part of the meat and dried the rest for winter. Like other animals, the *ḳammu* provided clothing as well as food. The Newe carefully removed the skins in one piece. They cut these pieces into long strips, which were rolled so that only the fur was exposed. The long strips were left to dry. Later the strips were tied together and woven into *ḳammu wiḳa* (rabbit blankets). It took several weeks to accumulate enough skins to make one of these blankets.

Although deer were hunted during the summer, the ideal time to hunt them was in early fall when the animals were fat. The women prepared the meat for winter storage. They removed the fat from the lean meat, storing the fat separately. They cut the meat into thin strips, dried it, and stored it in a cool, dry place out of the sun's rays. In hot weather, wet sagebrush was placed on fresh meat to keep it from spoiling. The Newe used bags woven from sagebrush bark or made from skins to store dried foods. They caught many animals, birds, and fish for food. Each was carefully prepared and stored for winter use.

As winter approached, the Newe returned to their winter campsites. The families built their winter homes from juniper branches and insulated them with leaves and dry material. Nearby they had stored dried berries, seeds, meat, and pine nuts in a dry place underground. During the winter months, as the family members gathered around the fire in the center of the *kahnee* (house) at night or lay snuggled in the warm *kammu wika* (rabbit blankets) with heated rocks at their feet,[13] they listened to an aged storyteller. Winter was the proper time of year for storytelling. Newe legends dealt with all parts of life. They told how people were created, set down rules for life, and explained past events.

Usually the characters in the stories were animals. Each animal flaunted a particular characteristic which he shared with humans. *Ijapu* (the coyote) was prominent in Newe stories. *Ijapu* was a jester who always got into predicaments. He not only provided moments of hilarious laughter in the stories; he also illustrated many important lessons about life. Because of his natural cunning, curiosity, and inability to stay out of mischief, *Ijapu* displayed many characteristics which were undesirable in Newe culture. Stories about him helped to educate the young. One such story explained why people died and did not come back to life:

> *Ijapu* and his big brother were discussing the death of people. Big brother said that the people should have two chances or they should die two times. As usual, however, *Ijapu* opposed the idea and won the argument. It was decided that people would die one time. Soon after the discussion, *Ijapu's* son died. *Ijapu* ran crying to his big brother, saying, "Did you not say that we should die twice?" His big brother reminded him that they had

> decided that people would only have one death. And that is the way it remains.[14]

Often Newe children fell asleep listening to the storyteller begin a new tale, "*Sewe wihnu Ijapu poyoahkenna* . . . (One time when coyote was loping along. . .)." For many generations Newe children grew up in this way, learning to live in harmony with their environment.

Family relationships were important to the Newe; relatives were linked by a close bond. The whole Newe culture and lifestyle reflected this closeness. The Newe family included grandparents, uncles, and aunts as well as parents and children. All family members cared for and disciplined younger children. The language also

The Newe have retained many aspects of their culture, including the traditional baby basket. Many Newe mothers still use this convenient and secure method of carrying babies. Here, Ellen Sam holds Archie Tybo in a baby basket. (Courtesy of Carrie Woods Mendoza).

reflected this unique relationship; unlike English, the Newe language had specific terms for maternal and paternal grandparents, distinguishing between these important relatives. First cousins were called brothers and sisters. The old people were valued members of the society, who shared their knowledge and wisdom and were treated with great respect. The close relationship which existed among Newe family members is practically unknown in American society outside of Native American families.

For the Newe, religion was a part of daily life. The people offered prayers on many occasions, giving thanks to the Maker for the things he provided and asking that their needs be met. Special dances, like the pine nut dance, were held at various times throughout the year. Songs known as "Night Songs" were sung at a religious dance held at night for healing.[15] If someone died, the people mourned for him at a Cry Dance.[16] Two dances, the Rain Dance [17] and the Warm Dance,[18] were held to influence the weather. The dances began when the leader called the people together, saying, *"Kimma pemme, temme natayohontoi* (Everyone come, let us dance to uplift ourselves.)" The people gathered together, circling the camp and singing four songs. When the songs ended, the leader offered a prayer. After this prayer the people performed a symbolic cleansing ritual. This was important because the Newe tradition emphasized both physical and spiritual cleanliness. They crossed their arms over their chests, striking themselves gently. They raised their arms, bringing their hands together. Finally they opened their hands and blew between them. After this ritual the dances began. The dancing continued through the night until the early morning. When the first rays of the sun brought light to the horizon, a special song concluded the dance. Before the people departed, the dance leader announced the time and place of the next dance.[19] Dances and social gatherings brought the people together, strengthened the bonds among them, and helped to preserve many aspects of Newe life.

In all areas of their life, the Newe had respect for nature and concern for the people around them. Unlike people in European cultures, the Newe did not find it necessary to separate life into distinct categories. Religion, family life, rules for living, and the world around them were inseparable parts of life. The Newe viewed all things as part of a whole. This was the Newe way.

The First Invaders: Trappers and Emigrants, 1827 - 1846

> Then came the emigrants (white people) with hairy faces, blue eyes, and hairy arms. When the Indians first saw these people they thought: These are the evil doers (devils). The Indians have been told by the older people that that kind of people exist. They were travelling in covered wagons with funny looking animals following the wagon (dogs). They knew what the horses were because they had seen the Mexicans riding them.[1]

At the turn of the nineteenth century, most Newe probably had not seen any Europeans. When the powerful fur companies began to exploit the Great Basin, white men entered Newe land. The American and British fur trappers who came to Newe lands did not care whether they preserved the natural ecology of the areas they exploited. Unlike the Newe, the trappers hunted and killed young animals since they did not care if any animals survived for the following season: they simply wanted to slaughter all the beaver they could find as quickly as possible. The British government supported this depletion, which is known as the "scorched stream policy." The British hoped to make this land less appealing to other countries by exhausting its natural resources.[2] As they depleted the northwestern areas, trappers moved on to Newe lands in the Great Basin. Unlike the Newe, who took only the beaver they needed for food and clothing, the trappers sold the skins for profit.

Jedediah Smith, an American fur trapper who came to the area in 1827, was probably the first white man to contact the Newe. Smith's party went across central Nevada, travelling through Newe territory. The Goshutes, a Newe group, had stories about the first white men in their land. Indians recalled "that the first white men they ever saw were three who staggered, almost naked, in from the western desert, and were half crazy from breathing alkali dust."[3]

Peter Skene Ogden, a British trapper, led the next group of white men who entered Newe land. Ogden, who had been ordered

to ruin the land so that the Americans could not profit from it, exploited the area and its resources. His expeditions, which brought many more men and animals than Smith's, were larger than most Newe groups. The Newe, who lived in small bands so that they could use all of their land without depleting it, rarely formed groups larger than a few families. The small bands only gathered together on special occasions. Ogden's large parties did a great deal of damage in Newe lands.

Entering Newe territory near present-day Battle Mountian about November 19, 1828, Ogden's party found Indian homes lining the river banks. The Newe met them and tried to establish friendly relations. Later, one hundred fifty Indians visited the camp. Ogden reported that the visitors came unarmed, "the greater part without bows or arrows or any weapons of defense."[4] He also remarked that the visitors appeared well-fed and in good condition.

In the following days, the trappers killed many beaver. Ogden declared his intention to deplete the beaver: "The banks of the river are now lined with Indians. It appears on our arrival on this river they apprehended we were a war party, but they are now convinced we are come merely to wage war on the beaver, and this I trust we shall do most effectually. . . ."[5] Observing the trappers, the Newe grew concerned. Using the metal traps, the white men destroyed many of the beaver which had furnished the Newe with material for much of their clothing. Moreover, the trappers' stock ate and trampled many important Newe foods. When land had been abused in this way, the area was permanently damaged. During this time over two hundred Newe visited the trappers' main camp, and Ogden reported some of his traps missing.[6]

Ogden's party moved slowly up the Humboldt, travelling past present-day Beowawe. As winter approached, Ogden obtained a Newe guide to lead his party north to their winter camp. On December 15 the Newe guide led them through the pass now known as Secret Pass. Although two feet of snow covered the ground, and travelling was difficult, Ogden reported that his guide knew the country well. When the party reached the other side of the Ruby Mountains, they met more Newe near Snow Water Lake, in an area where pheasants and rabbits were scattered through the hills. The Newe, who wore rabbit-skin robes, depended on the plants for food.

Although Ogden knew this, he asserted that his horses needed food and he could not spare the grass for the Newe.[7] Near the present Nevada-Utah border, the trappers saw a large herd of antelope and killed some for food.[8]

When the party left Newe territory, the guide tried to obtain a horse, which he apparently intended to use to return to his homeland. The Newe guide, however, was beaten and had to set out on foot. Ogden, who was on a well-travelled Indian trail, said he was not worried about finding his way. Two days later, however, the Newe guide returned to lead the ungrateful whites to a place where they could find buffalo. When Ogden's men had killed eight buffalo, the guide turned toward his home. He returned to his people, wondering what would come of these white men who had killed nearly three hundred beaver in Newe territory in such a short time.[9]

The trappers returned to Newe land in the spring. When they reached the eastern boundary of Newe territory, in the vicinity of Flowery Lake, they found that the Newe had changed their attitude. During the past year the Newe had visited the camps of the strange white men in great numbers, curious about the men and their strange machines. In 1829 Ogden noted that most Newe were no longer anxious to visit the whites' camps.[10]

Ogden met one Newe group fishing on the Humboldt River near present-day Halleck. For some reason, members of this group gave the trappers almost all the fish they had caught.[11] Other Newe groups were not so hospitable to the intruders. Near the South Fork of the Humboldt, Ogden met a larger party of about sixty Newe who refused to give the trappers any of their fish. Ogden reported that these people were quiet and did not disturb the horses. At the same time, he complained that the Newe had stolen traps. Ogden, who noted that the Newe were numerous along the river at this location, reported that the Indians had no leading man whom he could bribe to help his party.[12]

By the end of 1829, the beaver were practically extinct in Newe territory. It is not unfair to assume that Ogden trapped nearly a thousand beaver in the area. In addition, his large herd of horses had used the best grazing areas. His party had destroyed the food sources, shot the game, and threatened the native people. They did permanent damage to the ecology of the Newe area and disrupted

the lives of the people whose lands they passed through. Unfortunately this provided only a hint of the destruction to come. More trappers followed Ogden, and many were more callous than the members of his expedition.

In July 1833 an American fur trapping expedition set out from the Great Salt Lake for the Humboldt River. Joseph Walker led the party of thirty-six men, which brought a large herd of stock.[13] When they found the headwaters of the Humboldt, which they called the "Barren River," they followed it to Newe land.[14] Although they had heard that beaver were plentiful in the area,[15] they discovered that few remained. Zenas Leonard, who chronicled the expedition, noted: "On this stream we found old signs of beaver, and we supposed that, as game was scarce in this country, the Indians had caught them for provisions."[16] Leonard, of course, was mistaken. The absence of beaver gave mute testimony to Ogden's expeditions. Washington Irving's description of the Newe also reflected their experience with Ogden: "The travellers frequently met with their trails, and saw the smoke of their fires rising in various parts of the vast landscape, so that they knew there were great numbers in the neighborhood, but scarcely ever were any of them to be met with."[17] The trappers no longer met the large, friendly groups who had greeted Ogden: instead, the Newe tried to avoid the treacherous intruders. As stories of the whites passed among the Indian people, the Newe learned to shun these strange men.

In a Newe home members of Walker's party found a beaver skin robe which clearly showed that Newe used the skins for clothing. The whites took the robe. In exchange they left "two awls and one fish hook. This robe was worth from thirty to forty dollars."[18]

The Newe, intent on driving the whites from their land, stole traps from the river banks at night. One member of Walker's party, George Nidever, reported that "they became very bold and at last offered to let us to go through their country unmolested if we would give them our horses and meat."[19] Some of Walker's men wanted to take action against the Newe. Although Walker tried to prevent any killings, a party of trappers surprised and murdered two or three Newe on the upper Humboldt. The next day they killed several more Newe. The violent trappers reported killing four to six Indians altogether, but they may have murdered more.[20] As Washington

Irving related, these murderers were not punished: "Such is the indifference with which acts of violence are regarded in the wilderness, and such the immunity an armed ruffian enjoys beyond the barriers of the laws, that the only punishment this desperado [one of the murderers] met with, was a rebuke from the leader of the party."[21] The incident did not end with the death of six Newe; later it provoked the trappers to attack an innocent Paiute group.

Later trappers followed Ogden and Walker to Newe lands. Like the first parties, these men eagerly depleted the land and its resources; they showed no concern for the desires and rights of the people whose land they destroyed. Historian Hubert Howe Bancroft has described the effect of trappers on Indian peoples: "In whatever part of the country the American trapper had first come in contact with . . . [the Indians] there had followed wars and extermination."[22] The white invaders had killed Newe, exhausted their natural resources, and damaged their lands.

By 1840 stories of the wonderful climate, mineral wealth, and fertile lands in California had swept the midwestern United States. In 1841 John Bidwell and Colonel John Bartleson, who had heard these accounts, formed a party of emigrants. The group intended to cross the plains, travel to Fort Hall in Idaho, turn down the Humboldt River, and cross the mountains to California. They were the first emigrant party to record a journey through Newe territory.

Late in August they reached the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake. As they turned west and entered Newe land, they ventured into unfamiliar territory. Although whites had established trails to Oregon, they had not marked a road to California through the Great Basin. On August 26 the party followed a Newe trail which took them to water. The following day they camped near the Raft River Mountains, at a site which provided water and grass for the men and the stock. One Newe man visited their camp the next day. Hearing that other Indians with horses were nearby, Bidwell investigated the area. Eight years had passed since the violence associated with the Walker party, and the Newe seem to have been friendly to the Bidwell group. On September 3 an Indian group visited the camp and sold the emigrants three horses. The following day the Newe sold the travellers some service berries.[23]

Several days later the party reached Pilot Peak. Although they found abundant water there, they decided, after looking at the terrain ahead of them, to abandon their wagons. While the men prepared pack saddles for their animals, an elderly Newe approached them. As Bidwell reported, the man, who had had a vision of the emigrants, "told us by signs, that the Great Spirit had spoken to him, to go down upon the plains in the morning, and on the E. side of the mts. he would find some strange people, who would give him a great many things, accordingly he had come." Necessity forced the emigrants to discard many of the provisions they had carried in their wagons; they gave these things to the Newe man, who recited a solemn prayer of thanks, directed at the sun, as he received each item.[24]

The next day the party followed an Indian trail which led them across the mountains near Silver Zone Pass and into Steptoe Valley. Bidwell noticed that many Indian people lived in the area and saw some of them harvesting food on the valley floor.[25] The emigrants travelled west, arriving at "beautiful" Ruby Valley, where they saw abundant antelope, many springs, and the signs of "thousands" of Indians.[26]

On the evening of September 21, several Newe, some armed with guns, came into the party's camp. The following day, in the area of present-day Wells, Nevada, eighty or ninety Newe approached the emigrants from the west. The large Newe group, armed with guns as well as bows and arrows, quickly drew near to the whites. Many of the Newe had horses and a number of them wore buffalo robes. Apparently the whites showed no overt signs of hostility; the Newe came within a short distance of them. The Newe "travelled as near as they were allowed, till about noon, when they began to drop off, one by one, and at night there were about 8 or 10 remaining."[27] The whites continued their journey, travelling down Ruby Valley past Franklin Lake.

Finally they found a tributary of the South Fork of the Humboldt. They followed the stream to the South Fork and reached the Humboldt itself near the present site of Elko, Nevada. Bidwell saw groups of fifteen or twenty Newe watching his party. Many Newe lived in the valley, where antelope were abundant. The intruders, who were hard pressed for food, found the antelope difficult to kill and were forced to purchase what food they could from the Newe.[28]

The thirty-two members of the Bidwell-Bartleson party passed through Newe land without encountering hostility.

A second emigrant party crossed Newe territory two years later. Bidwell's journal, which had been published in Missouri, prompted more excitement about the California area. Like the Bidwell-Bartleson party, the Walker-Chiles party travelled to Fort Hall and down the Humboldt. The Walker-Chiles party was the first company to take wagons through the Great Basin.[29] Later the fact that wagons had crossed Nevada encouraged further white emigration through Newe land. Although violence always marked Walker's trails through the Great Basin, the records of this trip do not mention hostilities involving the Newe.

In 1843 John Charles Fremont led a party through Northern Paiute territory. The expedition's report, which was published in 1845 and widely read, encouraged emigration to California through the Great Basin area. News of these routes spread among travellers by word of mouth, and the Humboldt route became popular by 1844 and 1845. In 1844 many parties were organized in Missouri to travel to the fertile California valleys. The 1844 emigrants were the last to find abundant grass along the Humboldt.[30]

Intruders had depleted the Newe food supply in this area without asking permission or paying for the damage they did. White trappers had virtually eliminated beaver along the Humboldt. Emigrants' stock had over-grazed choice fields of grass, destroying the grass seeds the Newe used for food. The area the trespassers had visited would never be the same again. Parties crossing the Great Basin in 1845 noted several changes in the area: they saw less game, and the Indians they met appeared poorer than earlier reports had indicated. Indian hostility to whites had increased markedly.[31] Emigrants reported seeing Indians peering over high grass from a distance, watching the strange newcomers and their wagons.[32]

White hostility to the Indians also increased. Often shots were fired at the Indians. One white group attempted to enslave a Newe man. Sam Kinney, a member of the Greenwood party, saw a Newe man by the side of the trail, jumped from his wagon, hit the man over the head, and subdued him. Kinney, a southerner who had previously held black slaves, handcuffed the Newe man and forced him to trot behind the wagon with a rope around his neck. Kinney

walked behind the prisoner, beating him on his bare shoulders with a bullwhip. When he believed he had broken the Newe man's spirit, he released his bonds. Shortly thereafter Kinney awoke one morning and discovered his blanket, his $100 Kentucky rifle, a powder horn, some lead, and three hams had disappeared. The prisoner was gone.[33]

Emigrants recalled that this Greenwood party marked a turning point in Newe-white relations along the Humboldt. Later wagons had serious trouble with Newe who had previously been friendly and helpful. Newe shot arrows at the cattle and butchered the animals after the emigrants left them by the roadside. The travellers, however, planted strychnine in the dead animals, poisoning the Newe who ate them.[34] After these experiences the Newe, who had once helped the emigrants, tried to avoid the strangers who brought death to their land.

More and more emigrants began to pass through the Newe homeland. In 1845 between 250 and 300 crossed Newe territory.[35] The travellers' records often show that the emigrants' self-centered attitudes and habits affected the way they treated the Indians whose lands they crossed.

John Charles Fremont, who led a party across central Nevada in 1845, described the interior of the Great Basin. Contrary to previous reports, Fremont found that the Great Basin was not a barren desert. In a letter to his wife which was later published in the east, Fremont pointed out that the area, usually represented as a dry, sandy plain, actually contained pleasant land and abundant resources: "Instead of a plain, I found it, throughout its whole length, traversed by parallel ranges of lofty mountains, their summits white with snow (October); while below, the valleys had none. Instead of a barren country, the mountains were covered with grasses of the best quality, wooded with several varieties of trees, and containing more deer and mountain sheep than we had seen in any previous part of our voyage. . ."[36]

After his trip to Oregon in 1842, Lansford W. Hastings had published a book, *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California,* which encouraged travellers to emigrate to the west. Hastings' book and Fremont's letters spurred interest in western travel. Many emigrants would pass through Newe land in 1846. Easterners had ample reason to conclude that large emigrant trains could cross the Great Basin to California. In the past years, the Newe might have seen

two, three, or even five parties pass through their land in a year. In 1846 more emigrants than they had seen in the past five years probably travelled through their domain. Hundreds of wagons followed the Humboldt route to California. As many as a thousand emigrants may have gone that way. During the summer and fall of 1846, wagons stretched from Missouri to the Sierras. What had been a rough trail became a well-travelled road by the end of the year.

The emigrants' reports of this new land and its people varied. The travellers did not agree on the quality of land in Newe country, but several diaries reported good grass and game along the Humboldt. One map described Ruby Valley:

> A large and fertile valley, abounding in springs of pure water; soil black and rich, and covered with excellent grasses; a variety of timber in the vales of the mountains, also currants and service berries; game abundant, such as antelope, geese, brant, cranes, plover, grouse, bluebird, robin &c. The . . . Indian's 'bread root' is also found among the grass; it resembles a carrot. The north part of the valley is best. Grain of all kind could easily be cultivated. This valley affords a good site for a settlement or military provision post.[37]

Only scattered incidents of violence were reported along the route through Newe territory in 1846. However, the story of the Donner party, which floundered in the Sierras in 1846, soon spread throughout the eastern states. Like earlier accounts, this tale affected prospective emigrants. After the tragedy, many had second thoughts about trying to cross the continent to reach Oregon or California. The horror of that incident outweighed the possible benefits of an arduous journey. In the next two years, influenced by the fate of the Donner party, few emigrants passed through Newe lands.

Forty-Niners, Mormons, and Government Agents, 1847 - 1854

> In 1849, the California Gold Rush started and white men went back and forth through Nevada. Some of the white people were going through Overland Pass and the crossing on the Humboldt and were settling on good places of the land. The Indians fought back when they saw how the white men were taking over their lands.[1]

In 1847 and 1848 emigration through Newe land ebbed. In this two year period, few travellers recorded journeys through Newe territory. Three events which occurred outside Newe land during this time, however, soon provoked a new tide of emigrants. Although the Newe had a brief respite from white intruders, the whites would return in far greater numbers.

The first of these events brought Newe land under the official control of the United States government. In 1845 the United States had gone to war with Mexico. By 1848 the Mexicans, who had been soundly defeated, accepted a peace treaty which ceded all their former northern provinces to the Americans. When the United States signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and gained the former Mexican provinces of New Mexico and California, the American government assumed the obligation to respect Indian lands in the area, which included the Great Basin. Both the Mexican government and the Spanish government before it, had honored Indian land rights. The fact that the United States had gained a vast western territory spurred emigration in later years. Since the United States claimed jurisdiction over Newe lands by virtue of the treaty, government agents would also come to Newe land in the future.

At the same time a new group of settlers headed west. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormons) hoped to create a new state which would include all of Utah, most of Nevada, and sizeable portions of California, Arizona, Colorado,

Idaho, Wyoming, and New Mexico. On July 24, 1847, an advance company of 148 church members reached the Salt Lake Valley. The Mormons spent their first years in the west close to that valley, but as more church members arrived, Mormon emigrants spread further west into Newe territory.

On January 24, 1848, the third, and most immediately important, event occurred. On the western slope of the Sierras in California, near the emigrant route to California settlements, James Marshall discovered gold at Sutter's Mill. Hundreds of Americans, bitten by "gold fever," rushed west to find their share of the precious metal. "Gold fever" was an apt term; the sickness devastated the land and the men who came in contact with it. Man turned against the land, exhausting the resources of nature to support the mines. Man turned against man, killing anyone who stood between him and the dream of riches. Man turned against himself, betraying his beliefs in the hope of finding instant wealth. Narrow emigrant trails became broad roads cutting through Newe lands. As long as the weather permitted, wagons and stock spread across the continent in an unbroken line. Once an occasional wagon train had passed through Newe land; after gold was discovered, innumerable whites thronged along the entire length of the Humboldt. Where trappers had once reported hundreds or thousands of Newe in the Humboldt area, the emigrants saw only an occasional man or family.

Emigration grew in the following years. In 1849, twenty-five thousand emigrants may have travelled down the Humboldt to California.[2] As many followed in the next year. During the first two years of the gold rush, almost one hundred thousand people flocked to California.[3] At the same time, Mormon emigration increased the Great Basin population. Between 1849 and 1852 the number of Mormons in the area rose from six thousand to twenty thousand.[4] The rapid influx of so many emigrants brought many changes to the Newe people and their land.

By the end of 1851, stories of violence along the Humboldt were rampant. Tales told of entire wagon trains wiped out by Indians, cattle shot with poisoned arrows, horses run off, and frequent attacks made. Undoubtedly the tales themselves provoked further violence. Dale Morgan, a noted historian, described the effects of the emigrant parties on Newe lands: "Through this valley had

trailed thousands upon thousands, trampling under the grass, drinking dry the springs, abandoning dead cattle in the watercourses, shooting at the fortuitous targets of Indians glimpsed in the brush."[5] Newe traditions confirm documantary evidence: the elders recall the depletion of the area's resources.

Violence affected more than the land; the Newe remember that "when the whites first came to Nevada there were a great many Indians living here, but many were killed off by soldiers and pioneers. The Indians escaped by hiding under sagebrushes during the night, because during the daylight the whites found them and killed them."[6] Whites provoked the conflict: "Whites started the fighting between Indians and whites as the whitemen used to attack the Indian women and they never let the Indians alone. When the whitemen first came the Indians used to hide when they seen them coming."[7]

Representatives of the United States government also began to visit Newe lands. In August 1849 Howard Stansbury arrived in the Salt Lake Valley to report on the Great Salt Lake. Stansbury worried about travelling to the west side of the lake, where an earlier emigrant party had abused the Newe. He wrote: "It was known that mortal offense had been taken by the Shoshone . . . (through whose country we would be obliged to pass,) arising from a gross and wanton outrage which had been a short time before inflicted upon them by a company of unprincipled emigrants, by whom their women had been most brutally treated, and their friends murdered while attempting to defend them. Fears were entertained lest, in the wilds of this inhospitable region, where the foot of white man had never trod, we should fall a sacrifice to the just vengeance of . . . [the Shoshone]."[8] Stansbury's party, however, met with no hostility. On the west side of the lake, in sight of Pilot Peak, the surveyors found some Indian homes. Stansbury described the homes, which he said had been built for winter: "They were constructed in the usual conical form, of cedar poles and logs of a considerable size, thatched with bark and branches, and were quite warm and comfortable. The odor of the cedar was sweet and refreshing."[9] Stansbury also reported that the Indians were collecting pine nuts.

During this period the government made its first attempts to regulate the Indians in the area. Brigham Young, the head of the

Mormon Church, was made territorial governor and *ex-officio* superintendent of Indian affairs. Three agents were appointed, including Jacob Holeman, who was assigned to Newe territory. In 1850 the government knew little or nothing about the Indians in the area. In the next two years, the government received almost no information about the Indians.

By early 1852 Jacob Holeman had taken up his duties in Utah Territory and acknowledged his jurisdiction over the Newe. Holeman, who heard reports of fighting along the Humboldt, suggested in February that the government establish an agency "to protect the property and lives of the emigrants . . . at Mary's River [the Humboldt], some 300 miles from the city." [10] By March Holeman had begun to hear other reports which indicated that whites in Newe territory had incited Indians to attack the emigrants: "It is principally in their country that the robberies and murders which have occurred during the past season have been committed. Many are of the opinion that they have been encouraged and assisted by white men." [11] By this time Newe and whites had joined in open war along the Humboldt. Holeman reported that the "White Knives" held two white women as prisoners.[12] The White Knives, who lived along the Humboldt, took their name from the flint they used to make their knives.

Holeman also wrote that the Newe had cut off the main road to California and killed the men carrying the mail.[13] As Holeman reported, the Newe resisted further intrusion on their land and were "becoming very much excited by the encroachments of the Mormons, who are making settlement throughout the territory, on all the most valuable lands . . . . The Indians having been driven from their lands, and their hunting ground destroyed without any compensation therefor, they are in many instances, reduced to a state of suffering, bordering on starvation." [14] Holeman, who knew that the Newe were making "great preparations" to prevent further intrusion on their land, repeatedly suggested that the government establish an agency on the Humboldt.

Holeman grew more and more convinced that the whites, and not the Indians, were primarily responsible for the troubles along the river. In late June he wrote: "From all the information I caught . . . the great almost the sole cause of all the difficulties, the destruction

of life and property on this route, is owing to the bad conduct of the whites, who were the first to commence it . . . many of the whites who travel this road have been in the habit of persuading the Indians into their camps under the most solemn assurances of friendship and then, without any cause on the part of the Indians, they would shoot them down—others are in the habit of shooting the Indians whenever and wherever they can find them, whether the Indians are molesting them or not."[15]

Later that year Holeman visited Newe territory. Travelling with a company of twenty-five men, Holeman went down the Humboldt and returned through the headwaters of the river to the Goose Creek region. He intended to make peace with the Newe in order to facilitate emigrant travel along the river. The Newe he met told him that they could not fish on the river because the whites shot at them. Holeman reassured several Newe groups, who were wary of the whites, that the government wanted peace and would not molest the Indians. The Newe assured Holeman that they would not attack white travellers who passed through their land peacefully.[16] As one Newe man remembered, some Newe joined the whites to punish one band, led by Tse-ta-weh, that had raided wagon trains.[17]

Whites, however, were not so eager to prevent difficulty. Holeman reported that whites had been responsible for all the killing and theft which had taken place that year. He described the white traders along the route as the most violent characters in the region. As he noted, a large part of the problem stemmed from sheer numbers. Holeman alone met three hundred wagons a day between the headwaters of the Humboldt and Carson Sink. The agent made several recommendations. He requested that the government establish military posts along the route, with one on the Humboldt near its junction with South Fork. He also suggested that the government sign a treaty with the Indians of the area.[18]

By 1853 emigration to California had reached its peak and begun to decline. Meanwhile, however, Mormon settlers spread rapidly throughout the Great Basin. The Indians became more and more upset at the growth of these settlements. Holeman believed that as long as the Indians and whites did not know their respective rights and obligations, it would be impossible to keep peace in the area. For this reason he recommended that the government conclude

treaties with the Indians in the territory. An incident he reported in May 1853 illustrated the difficulties. A mail carrier who had travelled to California told Holeman that "a train which left this place for California, had by their own carelessness lost an ox . . . on the same day four Indians came to their camp quietly and friendly—They were accused with stealing the ox, which they denied, they were arrested by the train. Their arrows taken from them and they placed under close guard. Subsequently, three of the Indians were released and ordered to bring the ox to camp or that their companion, who was kept as a hostage should be put to death." [19] Although the hostage escaped during the night, the incident showed how "justice" was often applied to the Newe.

In July Holeman returned to Newe territory, visiting several small bands along the Humboldt. When he arrived at Thousand Springs Valley, he "met with the chief of a band of the Shoshone tribe, by the name of Too-ke-mah, (the rabbit,) whose band numbers about 600." When Holeman gave him some gifts to distribute among the tribe, "he seemed much pleased with the kindness and attention shown him, and promised that no difficulties would occur to the whites, so far as he was concerned; that he and his band would not only treat them with kindness, but they would render them any assistance in their power." Holeman noted that this band claimed the area near Thousand Springs Valley as far west as the Humboldt.[20]

On the Humboldt, Holeman met with "chief Ne-me-ta-kah, (man-eater,) whose band numbers about 500." Holeman, who described Ne-me-ta-kah as "an intelligent Indian, noble in appearance, and a particular friend to the whites," found this band friendly. Although Ne-me-te-kah was grateful for Holeman's presents, he told the agent not to consider the gifts payment for the friendship he offered freely. Reporting that some Indians on the Humboldt stole from the whites, Ne-me-te-kah told Holeman that his band would stop them if necessary. He also directed Holeman to another band:

> He sent two of his braves with me; one Paut-wa-a-raute, (the drowned man,) who had a separate band of about 200, occupying the country around and about the first crossing of the Humboldt, and directed them to find a chief, a friend of his, who resides near Stony Point [near present-day Battle Mountain], called Oh-hah-

> quah, (yellow skin,) who had a band of about 450, also of the Shoshonee tribe. They accompanied me to the village, but Oh-ha-quah was absent on a hunt, and could not be found. I gave them some presents, and sent some to their chief. All promised friendship to the whites, and seemed much pleased.[21]

Holeman visited Carson Valley and returned up the Humboldt. In sharp contrast to the earlier visitors, he reported that the area near the river no longer supported much grass or game. He saw few Indians, since most had left in hunting parties, but he did meet Oh-ha-quah, who told him that whites had attacked Ne-me-te-kah: "That Ne-me-te-kah had sent for him [Oh-ha-quah] and requested that he and his band would join him for the purpose of killing all the whites that passed the road, as the whites had killed his [Ne-me-te-kah's] son and five of his braves, without any cause whatever." An emigrant party Holeman met later near Stony Point elaborated on the story. Members of this train explained that a California trading expedition killed the Newe and stole their horses. Near Gravelly Ford (in the area of present-day Palisade), Holeman "met two emigrant trains, both of which had been attacked by the Indians, and had four men badly wounded, and lost many of their stock, with one wagon and a quantity of provisions, with much other valuable property." Ne-me-te-kah, who had greeted Holeman with friendship, was reluctant to meet the white man after his son had been killed. When he spoke to Holeman, he told him that he regretted that his actions had contradicted his earlier promises, but that the whites' hostility and the murder of his son had forced him to seek revenge. In reply Holeman argued that since the traders and emigrants were separate groups with different intentions, one party should not suffer for the actions of another. Ne-me-te-kah, who accepted Holeman's explanation, promised to make no further trouble for the emigrants.[22]

Holeman, who met a few more Newe and distributed some presents before he left the area, gave the most complete report on the Newe that had been written by a white man. When he left the area, Holeman, who had maintained good relations with the Newe groups he met, was "confident that if the emigrants who have to pass the road this season (and they are few) will treat the Indian with any degree of kindness, there will be no further difficulties."

He was "assured of their [the Newe's] amicable and friendly disposition at present." In his final report, Holeman suggested several ways to maintain the peace. Once again he reported on white traders in the area, who had encouraged Indians to steal from the emigrants and promised to trade for stolen stock. When Holeman spoke with the traders, they ignored his authority: "I informed them that they were violating the laws, and subjecting themselves to fines and punishment, and that I would be compelled to put the laws in force against them. They laughed at me; they defied me and the laws; they told me there were so many of them that they could and would do as they pleased, law or no law." Summarizing the situation, Holeman concluded that "the whites who infest the country are far more troublesome than the Indians." [23]

Many problems remained unsolved when Holeman was removed from office in October 1853. His successors faced renewed Indian-white hostilities. Several killings occurred that month. A Mormon who had attempted to blaze a wagon trail through the area to Carson Valley reported that Indians west of Salt Lake City planned to attack the western Mormon settlements. Despite the sincere efforts of men like Holeman, no true peace could be established between the Newe and the intruders while injustices continued. As long as lawless traders and reckless emigrants violated Newe rights, the Indians would remain wary and hostile toward the white invaders.

In 1854 several government officials surveyed the area to find routes through Newe land to California. In April a government surveying team, led by Lieutenant E. G. Beckwith, travelled across the Great Basin. Later that year another military official, Colonel Edward Jenner Steptoe, dispatched a party to find a route through central Nevada. At Brigham Young's suggestion, Steptoe approached Oliver B. Huntington, who agreed to find a route Steptoe's troops could follow to California.[24] On September 18 the group left the south end of the Great Salt Lake. After travelling about ten days in Newe territory, they reached a beautiful valley and found a stream which they thought might contain gold. Panning for the metal, they discovered some stones which they believed were rubies, so they named the area Ruby Valley.

The whites, who feared an attack, travelled carefully. One member rode ahead to scout the area. A few miles out, the scout

noticed an Indian following him. As a Newe man on horseback raced to cut off his retreat, the scout swung around and hurried back to the main group.[25] That evening when the party sat down to eat, seven Newe rode into the camp. As Huntington recalled, they "came past our horses which were grazing near and dismounted near our fires. We saluted them kindly with 'how-de-do,' and they replied. They were all dressed in coats, pants, overcoats, caps, etc., and rode well-shod horses, excepting one short, thick-set Indian, about twenty-three years old, who wore buckskin pants, a hickory shirt, a Panama hat and with his hair cut short and straight around his neck; he was very wide between the eyes, rode a very large mare without a saddle. He came to the mess where I, my nephew and Natsab were just sitting down to eat, and shook hands." This man was a Newe leader known to the whites as "Bloody Chief." [26]

The two groups were suspicious of each other until Huntington told the Indians that he and his party were close friends with the Haws family, traders who had a station near the emigrant trail. The Indians responded warmly. The next morning they came to the camp without weapons. The two groups engaged in friendly trade and foot races. Afterward the Newe escorted the party for eight miles and told them about the country that lay ahead. Huntington noticed that these Newe had "a great deal of gold and silver coin, jewelry and pocket-knives." [27]

On the return trip, the party reached the south end of Ruby Valley on November 19. Suspecting danger, they rode hard to cross the valley as quickly as possible. As they rode, they saw smoke from many fires in the area. At a watering place, they met an old Newe man who told them that Bloody Chief intended to kill them. The Newe reported that the leader had gathered all his men to kill the white men and divide their belongings. Following the old man's advice, the whites hurried out of the area, travelling to Goshute territory.[28]

In 1854 a Mormon leader, Orson Hyde, travelled down the Humboldt to Genoa, where he intended to set up a local government. Seven or eight miles beyond the present site of Wells, Nevada, Peter Haws met Hyde's party and guided them to his ranch. Hyde left descriptions of Haws' ranch, the area, and the Indians. He reported snowy mountains and clear streams which contained abundant fish.

Haws, who showed no fear of the Newe, left his stock unguarded and his door unlocked. Contrary to other reports, Hyde stated that Haws, who had "managed to secure the confidence of the Indians to a great degree," had actually restrained the Indians from attacking passing whites. As Hyde reported, the Newe were angry that Holeman's promises had gone unfulfilled. Holeman had "promised them pay for horses stolen from them by the emigrants, and a reward for six Indians, whom the whites killed without provocation. With these promises the Indians were induced to give up 700 sheep and some cattle, which they had taken as an indemnity." Hyde felt that the charges that Haws was allied with Indians in robbing emigrants were unjust and cruel. He advised that an Indian agent should visit the area, both to prove that the charges against Haws were unfounded and to help the Newe.[29]

Although many people spoke of violence along the Humboldt and the need to sign a treaty with the Indians of the Great Basin tribes, during most of 1854 the government had no representative in Newe land. In late 1854 a new agent, Dr. Garland Hurt, was appointed. Soon after Hyde's trip, Agent Hurt visited the area. He echoed Hyde's report, telling the commissioner that Newe along the Humboldt were attacking the mail carriers and emigrant wagons because Holeman's promises had not been kept. Noting that, "on the contrary, depredations have been frequently committed upon them by inconsiderate persons which have provoked the Indians," Hurt prepared to visit the Newe and distribute presents. He hoped "to be able to meet their expectations and shall endeavor to negotiate with them for peace, and if possible for the right of way through their country binding them to guarantee to our people perfect safety to life and property."[30] Thus, seven years after gold had been discovered in California, after the gold rush had ended, the government set out to negotiate a right-of-way through Newe land. By 1855 most emigrants on the trail were travelling to California and western Utah Territory to settle and farm. Although thousands of men had already crossed Newe land, the Newe had not received any compensation for the damages the travellers, their wagons, and their stock had done. Hurt, who received word that there was "a hostile state of feeling among the Indians on the Humboldt River," saw the need for signing treaties and establishing reservations for the Indians in the territory.[31]

The Treaty of 1855 and The Ruby Valley Reserve, 1855 - 1860

> It was agreed that whenever a white committed a crime against the Indian he would be turned over to the Indians for punishment. When an Indian did wrong against the whites, they in turn would do the same. The Indian kept their word but the white man never did.[1]

On July 16, 1855, Garland Hurt and his party left Salt Lake City to meet with the Newe and agree on a treaty. Before they reached the headwaters of the Humboldt, Alpheus Haws met them. He led them to his trading post near the river, where Agent Hurt looked for Ne-me-te-kah and his band: "It was not long after reaching that valley till we met a large band, and as we had camped for the night we had a talk with them, told them the object of our visit, and inquired where the balance of their nation were; they said that a great many of them had gone south to hunt, but that Min-ah-tu-cah [Ne-me-te-kah] and most of his band were about one hundred and fifty miles west, fishing." [2] Hurt sent Indian messengers to tell the Newe bands that he had come to the area to see them and bring them presents. While Hurt waited at Haws' ranch, the Newe began to arrive.

Soon four hundred Newe had gathered to meet the agent. When Hurt met with the Newe,

> . . . [he] gave them to understand that all difficulties between us had now to be settled, and requested the chiefs to assemble their people for the purposes of having a talk. We talked freely and at great length, many of the chiefs displaying more shrewdness and sagacity in council than I had expected. We endeavored to adjust all matters of dispute, both old and new, and I flatter myself that our efforts were not without success. For though we did not see the whole population of that vast region of country, yet we had a respectable delegation from each tribe and petty tribe, consisting of principal men and warriors, representing between 1,200 and 1,500 people or more; and from their desire to establish peaceful relations with us,

> I thought best to negotiate with them a written treaty, which after being read and expounded to them, they agreed to and signed. . . .[3]

The treaty, signed on August 7, 1855, professed friendship between the two peoples. (For the full text of the treaty, see Appendix A). The Newe promised to "guarantee to the people of the United States perfect safety to life and property at all times when peacefully sojourning in, or travelling through our country." They agreed to treat United States citizens who settled in their land "as brothers and friends, and not as enemies." Recognizing the laws of the United States, the Newe promised to uphold them and help officials arrest anyone who violated them. Hurt, on behalf of the government, offered "the friendship and good will of the people of the said States to the chiefs and people of the said Sho-sho-nee nation." He promised to give the people "the sum of three thousand dollars in presents such as provisions, clothing and farming implements etc. to be delivered to them at some convenient point within the limits of their country, on or before the 30th day of September 1857." If any Newe violated the treaty, it would be void "until such time as ample atonement shall have been made for such violations." The treaty was also subject to ratification by the Senate and the President.[4]

After signing the treaty, the Newe and the whites celebrated. Agent Hurt gave the principal Newe leaders small American flags. During the evening fifty or sixty young Newe men sang and danced in honor of the occasion. The Newe received the gifts with *poi-gan* (medicine), performing a number of ceremonies in honor of the event. The next morning Ne-me-te-kah spoke with the whites before they left: "He stood for some time as if in a deep study, and then said he was sorry that his people had ever been mad with the whites, but now their hearts were good towards the white people, and he hoped they would always feel so. The old man wiped a tear from his eyes, shook hands with us, and then put out; and since this interview it is difficult for me to believe that these Indians are so unmanageable as they have been represented to be if properly treated."[5] Concluding the friendly meeting, Hurt's party travelled back up the Humboldt.

Although Hurt's trip and the treaty seem to have been successful, the agent contacted only a small number of the Newe in the area. In fact, he may have met only Ne-me-te-kah's band. Unfortunately

the treaty meant little to the United States government. Officials felt that Hurt had exceeded his authority. The commissioner had already noted that Hurt had spent more money than the government had allocated. The agent was also having difficulties with Brigham Young, the governor and *ex-officio* superintendent of Indian affairs for Utah Territory. As a result the government never ratified, or even considered, the treaty. The fact that the Newe did not relinquish any land may also have contributed to the official neglect of the 1855 treaty.

That winter was particularly severe. Governor Young criticized the Indian department because it did not furnish adequate funds to help the Indians in the territory. Native foods, already depleted by the numerous intruders, dwindled. A summer drought, followed by an extremely severe winter, caused great hardship for the Newe.

When Hurt visited the Newe the following spring, the effects of the winter were apparent. Travelling to the Humboldt in May 1856, on orders from Brigham Young, Hurt hoped to insure peaceful relations between the emigrants and the Newe. Until he reached the Thousand Springs Valley, the agent saw few Indians. There his party met a band led by Setoke, "of about sixty men, women, and children, who had heard that we were coming, and had been watching the road for several days." The next morning Alpheus Haws rode in from his post on the northern Humboldt and "reported the suspected massacre of Carlos Murray and family, who had started early in May from the Humboldt, on their return to Salt Lake. The Chief [Setoke] appeared ignorant of the affair, but he said he thought it was right, for he had understood that Murray was a very bad man, and had killed an Indian the year before at the place where we were then camped." When Haws suggested that a band near the top of the valley had killed Murray, Hurt and his party went to investigate: "On approaching the canyon at about noon, we discovered a party of some thirty or forty riding at full speed toward us, but halted on reaching the open plain, and awaited our approach." The whites traded with these Indians and then travelled toward the Humboldt.[8]

Hurt also reported meeting the "To-sow-witches (white knives)." The agent described a group of White Knives, "about fifty of whom we met on the evening of the 15th and who said they lived north and had come over to trade with the emigrants. They

were well supplied with guns and horses, and were anxious to trade for ammunition."[7] The Newe needed ammunition to hunt game. When the native food supply was disrupted along the Humboldt, Newe bands found that they had to be well mounted and well armed to hunt large game in the mountains. In Newe lands south of Ruby Valley, where the people could still find and gather enough food using traditional methods, the Newe did not need horses.

Hurt's party remained in Carson Valley for some time. As they turned back to head east to Salt Lake City, emigrants told them "... that the bodies of three white persons had been found and buried about fourteen miles below Gravelly Ford."[8] Although at least one attack had been reported at Gravelly Ford, when Hurt arrived he found no evidence of a battle. The agent's party camped near the area; nearby 150 To-sow-witches and many emigrant wagons were also camped. Hurt watched for any signs of trouble, but "with all the diligence and stratagem that I could use I could find no money with them [the Newe], nor could get any clue to the murder of the emigrants."[9] Since no trouble had occurred, Hurt was surprised when someone fired three shots into the emigrant camp.

Although the emigrants suspected that white bandits who had followed them had fired the shots, Hurt discovered the tracks of three Indian horses heading north in the morning. When he followed the tracks, he "came suddenly upon a band of about fifty ... warriors, who, on seeing me, sprung instantly for their guns and horses, and in a moment were ready for battle." When they recognized Hurt, they grew calm. Admitting that they had fired the shots, they explained "that the cook belonging to that company had struck one of them upon the head with a stick when he asked him for bread." Hurt, who saw the bruises on the man's head, realized that the whites had provoked the incident. Most of the group came from the north and had only visited the area to trade. Apparently the tensions had begun because the Newe wanted to trade for ammunition and the whites refused.[10]

When Hurt learned that Ne-me-te-kah had camped twenty miles up the river, he decided to speak with him. Five Newe agreed to guide the agent to his camp:

> We did not find the chief until noon the next day, when I told him the many complaints that were made against his people. He

> said that some of his men were tobuck, (mad,) but he had done all he could to keep their hearts good. He thought that the emigrants were to blame some, for I had told them the summer before that the Shoshones and Americans were to be friendly, and treat each other as a brother; but now, when his people were starving for meat, the Americans would not sell them any powder. He said if we were friends, he did not understand why we could not trade.[11]

He also told Hurt that one band, led by Sho-cup-ut-see (probably the Sho-cop-it-sio who had signed the 1855 treaty), had started a farm. With the help of Peter Haws, who supplied seed, the Newe grew wheat, potatoes, and squash. Haws reported that the Newe had cultivated fifteen acres using hoes supplied by the agent.[12]

As Hurt's party returned up the Humboldt and turned north, they continued to hear stories of attacks on whites in Thousand Springs Valley. There the agent met with Setoke, who told him that the Newe group he had met at the head of the valley had been responsible for Murray's death. Hurt's reports and others implied that the Indians in the area banded together to attack the whites. Hurt claimed that the Newe, the Goshutes, and the Bannocks in the area joined together to rob emigrants.[13] Another agent, assigned to bands in the western part of Utah Territory, wrote that Tintic, a Ute Chief, had asked the White Knives to join him in war against the whites.[14]

The Newe had apparently given up hope of peaceful and just relations with the whites. The treaty had never been ratified, and the whites did not observe its provisions. Little had come of the Treaty of 1855. Although Agent Hurt found the Newe he met friendly, hostilities and tensions continued. An unusually severe winter aggravated the shortage of native food caused by the many emigrants.[15] The gold rush had dwindled, but many whites still passed through Newe land. While Garland Hurt investigated many of the problems in the area, he had little to offer the Newe.

Two years after the treaty was signed, the government sent federal troops to Utah Territory because conflicts between the Mormons and the United States government had increased. Brigham Young reported that Newe attacked emigrants along the Humboldt. He suggested that the threat of war may have provoked some Indian attacks: "In one or two instances this was the reason assigned why they made the attacks which they did upon some herds of cattle;

they seemed to think if it was to be war, they might as well commence, and begin to lay in a supply of food when they had a chance."[16]

During the winter a new agent, Jacob Forney, was appointed to take charge of Indians in Western Utah Territory. The former agent, Garland Hurt, wrote to his successor to report on conditions in the area. Hurt told Forney that whites claimed that the Newe along the Humboldt and in the Goose Creek Region had "spent the season as usual in murdering and robbing the emigrant trains en route to California and Oregon."[17] Reports also noted that twenty-two emigrants fought a fierce battle with Indians along the Humboldt near the Reese River. This battle was said to be the incident for which "Battle Mountain" was named.[18] While Forney wintered with the federal troops outside the territory, Congress appointed him the first superintendent of Indian affairs for the territory of Utah. The new superintendent, who replaced Brigham Young, reached the Salt Lake valley in the spring.

Forney soon realized that the game in the valleys had been destroyed. The depletion of natural foods forced the Indians to search for food in the mountains or raid the whites' stock. Forney recommended forming reservations for the Indians. Later in 1858 he reported more trouble along the Humboldt: "that the Indians in that region were committing depredations upon travellers, and, in one instance, having attacked the mail party and stampeded their stock."[19] The army also received word that the Indians along the Humboldt stole cattle and sold the stock to the Mormons.[20] Forney requested an escort of 150 soldiers so that he could visit the area. The agent asked that the troops establish a station at the first crossing of the Humboldt to protect the mail and the emigrants.[21] Troops were dispatched with orders to discover which tribe was responsible for the attacks and punish the offenders. Forney and the soldiers left for the Humboldt in early September.[22] By mid-October the troops returned. Both the military commander and Agent Forney reported that the Indians they met along the Humboldt were friendly.[23] This was the first time government troops invaded Newe territory.

By 1859 the California gold rush was over. White prospectors did not crowd the Humboldt as they had at the peak of the rush. Although some farmers moved into Carson Valley, fewer emigrants

followed the trails through Newe land. That year, however, gold and silver were discovered on the eastern slopes of the Sierras. The Comstock Lode, one of the richest veins of gold and silver ore ever found, drew tens of thousands to the land now known as Nevada. This discovery increased the tensions along the Humboldt.

Superintendent Forney made plans to ease the tension by creating a reservation in Ruby Valley. The agent hoped that this reservation would protect the mail route and provide a farm to supply food for the Indians. Forney sent Sub-agent Jarvis to Ruby Valley to establish the reservation. The superintendent described the Newe and claimed that most of them were in Ruby Valley at the time:

> Humboldt Sho-Sho-Nees: These are a fraction of the Snake Nation but are isolated and not subject to the control of any principal chief . . . . They are divided into four bands and number eight to twelve hundred each band having several chiefs.
>
> The country claimed by them is from the Goose Creek mountains East including Goose Creek Valley, to fifty miles west of Stony Point in the Humboldt Valley. And from the Oregon Line, north to some distance south of Ruby Valley.[24]

Forney decided to set up a six-mile-square reservation in Ruby Valley. In March he sent Robert B. Jarvis to create a farm for the Goshutes and a reservation for the Newe who lived in Ruby Valley. Jarvis, William Rogers, and John Smith reached the proposed reserve by April and told the Indians that a reservation would be formed. Although Rogers had been given a small herd of oxen for reservation use, he sold some of the animals for his own profit before he reached Ruby Valley.[25] When he arrived, he built a small log cabin and began to cultivate about twenty-five acres. Superintendent Forney had promised to give presents to any Indians who stayed on the reservation throughout the year. He also ordered Rogers to try to convince all the Indians who spent time in the valley to settle there permanently. The reservation, however, was not approved by the government. In 1859 the Indians had only the agent's promises that a reservation would be established in the area.

Ruby Valley was also an important point on the mail route. Since 1858 mail had travelled from California up the Humboldt to Salt Lake City. Early in 1859 mail contractors developed a road from Camp Floyd (near Utah Lake) to Ruby Valley. They carried mail

up the Humboldt, taking Hasting's Cut-Off to Ruby Valley and travelling on to the Mormon settlements. A regular stage ran along the road to Ruby Valley; from the valley to the Humboldt, the mail was packed on mules. This route cut many miles from the old ones.

On May 2, 1859, Captain James H. Simpson began to explore the area, hoping to find a wagon route across central Nevada which would shorten the mail route even more. As the party moved past Rush Valley (west of Utah Lake), they met a mail stage from Ruby Valley. One of the passengers on this stage was "Cho-kup, chief of the Ruby Valley Band of Sho-Sho-nees."[26] Cho-kup was probably the "Sho-cop-it-sio" who signed the Treaty of 1855 and the "Sho-cup-ut-see" who farmed with Peter Haws near the South Fork of the Humboldt. The treaty had done little to help the Newe. Farming near the South Fork was impractical since the farm was too close to the emigrant route. The presence of troops along the Humboldt also worried the Newe. Cho-kup planned to visit the military camp to discuss these problems with Superintendent Forney. The Newe needed land set aside for their use under federal law. For years agents in the area had recommended establishing a reservation.

As the surveying party passed through the area, Simpson wrote about the Newe and their land. The party passed employees of the mail company working on the road.[27] When they reached Goshute territory, Simpson described land near Deep Creek where Forney had established a farm for the Goshutes. Simpson wrote that the land was fertile and that fifteen hundred acres could be cultivated.[28] Near Steptoe Valley he noted that he had crossed the boundary between Goshute and Shoshone land. He reported that Indians had stolen some of the stock at a mail station in the valley. When his party crossed Butte Valley, five Newe clothed in leggings and rabbit-skin robes guided them to water.[29]

The party also visited Ruby Valley. Just before they reached the southern end of the valley, a Newe named Tar-a-ke-gan joined them. This Newe explained the meaning of some Shoshone words and showed several members of the party the surrounding country.[30] Simpson described the valley:

> Mr. Jarvis, the Indian agent, has commenced, I am informed an Indian farm in this valley, about 40 miles to the north of our camp for the Shosho-nees. An abundance of grass, water, cedar,

> and pine is found in the mountains on either side of the valley, particularly in the Humboldt range skirting it on the west [Ruby Mountains], and it is represented as being quite a warm valley. . . . Large numbers of Sho-sho-nees winter in Ruby Valley, on account of its being warmer than the other valleys around. One of the mail party represents that as many as 1,500 must have stayed here last winter. At the present time [mid-May] they are scattered, for purposes of hunting. They are a fine-looking tribe of Indians, and all those I have seen have good countenances. They have generally nothing but the brush-barrier or enclosed fence, summer and winter, like the Go-shoots, to protect them from the weather, though some of them erect pole-lodges . . . one-third of them carry guns; the rest carry the bow and quiver. They have committed no depredations lately, though last year they attempted to steal some horses from some emigrants.

The Newe called the Ruby Mountains "Tac-a-roy" (Snow Mountains). Simpson described plentiful game in the valley where the mail service was building a pine-log house. In the mountains he noted antelope, waterfowl, deer, mountain sheep, and other animals.[31]

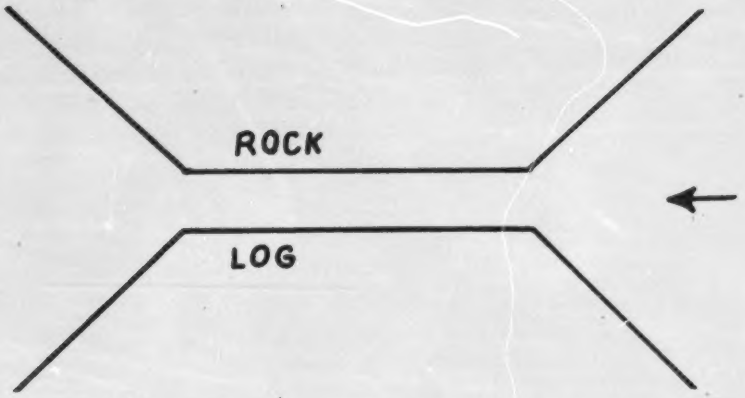
Simpson decided to turn south, cross Hastings' Pass, and try to reach Genoa by a direct route. Camping at the South Fork [Huntington Creek], his party met a Newe family. The young child, a handsome boy, had several strings of shells around his neck. As they travelled, Simpson described several other Newe groups. He saw Indians watching from vantage points, and some Newe joined the party. He also noted the dams the Newe built to flood the dens of small animals, like badgers and gophers.[32]

On May 19 Simpson's party met Cho-kup again. Simpson, who referred to Cho-kup as the "Chief of the Humboldt River band of Sho-sho-nees," and later as the "Chief of the Indians South of the Humboldt," described the Newe man: "He is a very respectful, intelligent, well-behaved Indian, and seems to have gained the approbation of the California Mail Company. In age I should suppose he was about thirty-five years. He is dressed in buckskin pants, a check under, and a woolen over shirt; he has a handerchief tied around his neck, wears shoes, and has a yellowish felt hat. His air is that of a man who, while knowing his own powers, is capable of scanning those of others." Cho-kup brought a letter of introduction from a prominent man in the mail company. Simpson also wrote a letter for the leader:

> This is to inform persons that the bearer of this paper is Cho-kup chief of the Sho-sho-nees south of the Humboldt River, and as he is represented, and from my intercourse with him, I believe him, to be a friend of the white man, and a good, respectable, and well behaved Indian, I bespeak for him and his people the kind treatment at the hands of the travelers through their country that their recent good conduct entitle them to, and which, if they continue to receive, will insure all who may pass through their country safety to their persons and property.[33]

The letter was written at "Cho-kup's Pass," probably the Overland Pass in the Diamond Mountains.

Crossing Diamond Valley, Simpson saw "brush-fences or barriers converging in to a narrow pass, and a large hole in this last portion." His guide reported that the fences were used "to guide deer near the hole in which the Indian hides himself and shoots them as they pass with bow and arrows at night, a fire being used as a lure." [34] The party crossed a pass in the Sulpher Springs Range and entered an unusual valley, which the Newe called "Ko-bah" (Face Valley). There Simpson met three Newe who gave him the names for the valleys and mountains. These names corresponded to the ones Cho-



Simpson probably saw a deer chute like this one. The Newe built them halfway up Spruce Mountain and in Ruby Valley, where remains of the old chutes still exist. Wings at either end led to narrow walls, made of logs on one side and rocks (or cliffs) on the other. Hunters set fires to drive the animals out of the brush. When a deer reached the narrow part of the chute, the hunter speared it. Then he pulled the dead animal under the logs and out of the chute. (Courtesy of Earl F. Wright, "Ruby Valley Shoshone," August 14, 1958).

kup had given to the party. The Newe in this valley said that they never travelled far from the valley and that they had no central leader. At first, the Newe were friendly. Later they disappeared, shooting one of the party's beeves. Simpson discovered the reason the next day: a cook had threatened the Indians with a revolver. Simpson, who tried to remain on good terms with the tribes whose land he crossed, was angry at the incident.[35]

The party travelled to a branch of Kobeh Valley, where they found many signs of antelope and sagehen. On May 25, fifteen to twenty Newe visited their camp and told them the names of the streams and mountains. The party moved westward, crossed the Simpson's Park Range and the Toiyabe Range, and reached the Reese River. In this area they met an Indian who told them he had never seen whites before. This older man told Simpson that the other Indians had been frightened by the sight of white people and had run away. He also told the party that his people liked the country where they lived. At the Reese River the party caught 2½-pound trout and described the grass as luxuriant.[36] They travelled west, leaving Newe territory and crossing the mountains to California.

In June Simpson returned through the central portion of the Great Basin to Camp Floyd. When he reached the Reese River area on the return journey, mounted Newe visited his camp. Near Steptoe Valley he noted a well-beaten north-south trail. Indians told him that the To-sa-witch (White Knives) used the trail to drive horses to trade with the Pahvant Indians.[37]

In 1859 the Newe south of the Humboldt, led by Cho-kup, seemed to be at peace. They believed that a reservation had been set aside for them. The agent had promised to pay them for settling in one place. Troubles grew all around them, however. Along the mail line, on the Newe's eastern border, the Goshutes took emigrants' stock for food. To the north the White Knives attacked emigrants. To the west the Paiutes had begun to fight the whites. Along the Humboldt the Indians claimed that Forney had promised them gifts when he visited the area the previous fall with federal troops. An agent for the California Mail Company reported that Forney had promised them cattle, flour, and other goods.[38] When nothing had been delivered by April, the Newe began to realize how little the white man's promises meant.

Agent Dodge, who reported from his post in Carson Valley in January 1859, discussed the violence in the area. Dodge reported the threat that the emigrants presented to the Indians: "The Humboldt Indians see by the experience of other tribes that roads are harbingers of civilization, and the certain sign of their own subjugation and final extirpation. All they ask is for something to eat. . . . The encroachments of the emigrant have driven away the game upon which they depend for a subsistence. They cannot hunt upon the territories of neighboring tribes, except at the risk of their lives. . . ." [39] Dodge also discussed the problems created by trading posts, where unscrupulous traders took advantage of the Newe. He acknowledged that white intrusion had caused the poverty he observed among some of the Indians.

By August many emigrant trains from the Goose Creek Mountains to the Humboldt were attacked. Most of the attacks were north of Newe territory, and both army officials and Indian agents blamed the raids on other bands. Finally two expeditions were sent to deal with the Indians. One was to follow the emigrant trail to the Goose Creek Mountains and the Humboldt. The other headed north from Salt Lake City.[40]

The second party attacked a large group of Northwestern Shoshone, killing twenty in the Battle of Box Elder.[41] The other expedition found that the Newe were peacefully inclined. Although persistent reports stated that some Newe bands (termed "renegades"), allied with whites disguised as Indians, had attacked wagon trains, the military found few Newe.[42] Those they met were peaceable. Not all reports agreed, however. One government agent described the Newe as hostile: "It is a well-known fact that the Western Shoshonees, of Humboldt River and Goose Creek mountains, have sometimes ventured to attack an equal number of overland emigrants. They fight with the utmost determination, and with the advantages which Indians inevitably procure in assailing whites, have often been successful in the destruction of small parties of our overland emigrants." [43] Throughout 1859 reports conflicted.

In the following year thousands of miners travelled across the Sierras to the Comstock Lode. This influx led to a war between the whites and the Paiutes. Although few Newe were involved in these battles, some may have had trouble with the soldiers, who were often

unable to distinguish between different Indian tribes. Officials in the Newe area relied on the military to enforce their policies. When Agent Forney heard of the Paiute war, he sent William Rogers back to Ruby Valley with orders to distribute presents to the Newe and "induce the Sho-sho-nees which usually roam through Ruby to collect there and remain until the present difficulty among the Pi-Utes is settled."[44]

In the same year the Pony Express set up stations in Newe territory. For the first time whites had a regular route through the central Newe homelands. In the spring trouble broke out along the route. Several mail stations were attacked during the year. The army sent troops along the Humboldt and established a depot and a troop station in Ruby Valley to protect the mail.[45] After the military took over, the Ruby Valley Reserve fell into disuse.

Many attacks on the mail station were attributed to the Goshutes, who were forced to attack stock to obtain food. By September the military chief at Ruby Valley reported that the Goshutes were suing for peace. At least twenty-five, and probably many more, Goshutes were killed in a number of campaigns that year. In one incident an army patrol fired on a Goshute group while the Indians were obtaining food from a mail station.[46] In December William Rogers reported on the condition of the Indian farm in Ruby Valley. The Newe were angry because Forney had not kept his word. Many Indians had travelled hundreds of miles to receive the goods he promised. In addition, emigrants and mail company employees had provoked the Indians. Their land had been taken and their game driven off. These conditions led the Newe to attack whites. Rogers noted their grievances, but stated that they were pleased with the new superintendent, Benjamin Davies.[47]

The Treaty of 1855 had done little to improve conditions for the Newe. Since the Ruby Valley reserve had not received official sanction, the Indians benefitted little from it. More and more settlers came to the area, taking the land and using its resources. Soldiers brought violence to Newe homelands. The Newe had been promised friendship, land, and provisions, but the pledges were ignored and forgotten. The Newe, who had believed the white man's word at first, had had enough of the lies and broken promises.

The Military and the Treaty of 1863
1861 - 1869

> Newe elders remember that twice, when the Indians turned a criminal over to the white soldiers, the whites executed the Indian. Then, the soldiers butchered and cooked the man, forcing the other Indians to eat his flesh at gunpoint. One Newe man who was among those forced to take part in this tragic event, 'told how the soldiers killed two men, hung them up and then cooked them and forced the Indians to form lines while they cut off pieces of the flesh and fed each person as they came by. He said that he gagged when he put the flesh in his mouth but finally managed to swallow it. He used to cry when he told this story.' [1]

In 1861 Congress reduced Utah Territory and established Nevada Territory. Gold and silver discoveries, the Civil War, and the influx of population in the area led to the division. Nevada Territory originally included some Newe lands; in 1862 and 1866 the remaining Newe areas were added to it. In the intervening years government jurisdiction over the Newe was somewhat confused. During the Civil War the army determined much of the policy in the area. For the next decade the military probably had more effect on the Newe than any of the Indian agents did.

Although in 1861 the Ruby Valley Reserve was still listed as land set aside for the Newe, Fort Ruby and the Overland Mail station near the south end of the valley overshadowed the farm. In late 1861 Rogers stated that twenty-five acres were cultivated and a double log house had been built. Rogers noted that the stream was large enough to run a mill.[2] The farm, however, produced little more than the food needed by nearby whites. The completion of a telegraph line from Omaha to Sacramento in 1861 marked the end of the Pony Express, but the Overland Mail and Stage Line began operation in the same year. In order to speed their service, the stage company grazed their stock on Indian lands. This grazing destroyed a primary Newe food source.

The new Utah superintendent of Indian affairs, Benjamin Davies, reported on the situation as soon as he took office. The farm at Ruby Valley had fallen apart. Promises had been broken. The overland mail and the telegraph had destroyed the Indians' food supply. As a result, "the Indians had lost confidence in the government and the people of the United States. . . ." Davies travelled to Ruby Valley to investigate the difficulties, sending messengers out to inform the tribes that he would be there to speak with them. Along his route, which took him through Ruby Valley, Davies found almost no game. Unlike previous visitors, he saw only two or three flocks of ducks and a few rabbits. The mail company was partially responsible: "At some of [the] springs were immense quantities of dark-colored fish, called 'the chub,' about four inches in length, which the Indians used to eat in winter, but the overland California mail company has built stations for convenience, and located men and quartered stock about these spots, and the Indians no longer visit them. No sign of antelope, deer, mountain sheep, elk, not so much as a prairie dog, weasel, bear, buffalo, or anything except wolves. . ." [3]

As Davies travelled through Goshute territory, he tried to organize the people by choosing a central leader for them. The Goshutes told him that whites at the mail stations had murdered their people secretly. Travelling on to Newe territory, Davies noted that whites had taken the good farming land, and the Newe "had a suspicion that it was the policy of the whites to populate their country and drive them into the big waters west of them, and some trouble may be anticipated in attempts to negotiate the purchase of their lands by treaty or otherwise." Davies recommended enlarging the reservations at Ruby Valley and Deep Creek: "I have again to urge the importance of extending the limits of the reserve at Ruby Valley and Deep Creek, (or Ibimpah) [the Goshute reservation] so as to embrace the the whole of said valleys, and that surveys of the same be immediately made and their boundaries regularly designated." He thought that he could put the Ruby Valley Reservation into operation with about seven thousand dollars.[4]

In 1861 Henry Martin replaced Davies as Superintendent. Chokup visited him and he agreed to meet with the Ruby Valley Shoshone. Throughout the year the whites negotiated with Cho-kup. Martin stated that the Indian leaders were "unanimously in favor of

a treaty with the United States." Cho-kup explained that the Newe needed blankets and food because the mail company had depleted the natural foods and materials the Indians had depended on. According to the report:

> They express their willingness to cede to the United States all the lands they claim in this Territory, with the exception of reservations necessary for their homes; and ask, in return, that the United States shall make them annual presents of blankets, beads, paint, calico, ammunition. &c., with occasional supplies of beef and flour sufficient to make them comfortable. . . .
>
> . . . the chiefs agree to hold themselves responsible for any depredations committed by any of their bands, if a treaty should be made, by deducting the amount of damage done from the annuity paid them." [5]

When Cho-kup died at the end of the year, no clear leader emerged. In the ensuing struggle, the central issue apparently was whether the Newe should fight the whites. Although the mail company had begun to provide rations for the Indians along its route, hostilities increased in central Nevada. Accounts reported whites ambushed and killed along the central overland route and the Humboldt route. One battle between whites and the Newe occurred at Gravelly Ford (near present-day Palisade).[6] The territorial governor sent Indian Agent Warren Wasson through central Nevada to prevent another Indian war, talk to the leaders, and distribute goods.[7]

On December 20 Wasson reached the Reese River Valley. Whites had begun to prospect for gold and silver in the Toiyabe Mountains, and the Overland Stage had destroyed much of the food supply. Wasson met with the Newe leader Tu-tu-wa (also known as To-to-a, Toi-toi, and Too Tiania) to arrange a peace. Tutuwa "seemed to regret that there was any disturbance between the whites and the Shoshones, and volunteered to go with me and assist in bringing about a settlement." The Newe leader also assured Wasson "of his friendship for our Government." [8]

Wasson's party travelled on toward Ruby Valley. They heard reports that the mail station fifty miles west of Ruby Valley had been attacked and that the one at Ruby Valley was threatened, but the rumors were false. Along the route Wasson found that the grain

provided by the Overland Mail Company was not enough to meet the Newe's needs. When the party reached Ruby Valley, Wasson noted that Captain Buck led the Indians there. The agent also mentioned two other leaders, Temoke (Temoak) and Quads. About half the tribe's members, who apparently disagreed with Buck's peaceful policies, had moved north to join the White Knives. Wasson stated that "the danger of interruption by Indians to the mail and telegraph lines apprehended during the coming spring is from a band of the Shoshones called 'White Knives,' occupying the country between the Upper Humboldt and the present mail road. . . ." After Cho-kup's death, conflicts grew in the valley. Among other incidents, two drunken white men tried to shoot Captain Buck. Although peace was restored after the shooting, the problems remained. Once again an agent requested a reservation for the Indians of Ruby Valley. Wasson also recommended reservations for the White Knives at Gravelly Ford and for Tu-tu-wa's bands in the Reese River Valley.[9]

Reports of violence continued in 1861 and 1862. Henry Butterfield reported that "two different emigrant parties were massacred that fall between the south fork of the Humboldt and Gravelly Ford, both at nearly the same time." No survivors remained from either party. In 1862, after a wagon train was attacked on the Humboldt, a white patrol pursued the Indians. According to the accounts, the patrol fought several battles, killing over thirty Newe.[10] The White Knives were accused of stealing stock near Ruby Valley.[11] Newe were blamed for several attacks on mail stations along the Overland Mail route in early 1862.

Many white volunteers had formed military companies when the Civil War began. The army decided to use some of the California volunteers to guard the Overland Mail route. In 1862 Colonel Patrick E. Connor received orders to take his men across the Sierras and follow the overland route to Ruby Valley. The troops stationed at Ruby Valley had been transferred, so Conner was to set up a military post to protect the mail route.

When Connor arrived, he found a mail station and Stebbins Trading Post. The Indian reservation north of the fort was still officially Newe land, but the farm had not been worked for several years. The Utah Superintendent advocated abandoning the Ruby Valley Reserve.[12] By the end of 1862, military officers in the area,

rather than Indian agents, determined the policy and conditions in Newe territory.

Soon after Connor arrived, reports claimed that twenty-three whites had been killed by Indians on the Humboldt at Gravelly Ford. Connor was ordered to send troops to the river. On September 29 Connor sent his men out, telling them to hang any Indians that they believed were guilty, "and leave their bodies thus exposed as an example of what evil-doers may expect while I command this district." His men were to travel to Gravelly Ford and continue along the emigrant route up the Humboldt until they reached the City of the Rocks in Idaho. Disregarding the law, Connor instructed the troops to "destroy every male Indian whom you encounter in the vicinity of the late massacres. This course may seem harsh and severe, but I desire that the order may be rigidly enforced, as I am satisfied that in the end it will prove the most merciful." [13]

The leader of the troops sent to the Humboldt, Major Edward McGarry, followed those orders. When they reached Gravelly Ford, McGarry reported that the soldiers "enticed" three Newe into camp, disarmed them, and killed them. As they marched up the Humboldt, the troops surrounded fourteen or fifteen Indians. The soldiers disarmed the Indians and, when they tried to escape by diving into the river, fired on them. Nine Newe were killed. In two days the soldiers captured five men, three women, and a child. McGarry released two of the prisoners, ordering them to bring in the guilty parties by the next morning. Since the Indians did not return, the soldiers executed four prisoners the following morning. They told the survivors that if any more emigrants were attacked, soldiers would return to destroy the tribe. The next day the troops surrounded and disarmed another Indian group, killing eight. In all McGarry's command murdered about twenty-five Newe without any provocation. The soldiers had no evidence that any of the people they killed had attacked whites.[14]

After this expedition Connor took some of his troops to form Camp Douglas near Salt Lake City. In Ruby Valley the Newe left their homes in fear of the soldiers. When the troops searched the valley later in September, they found no Newe.[15] Connor initiated military campaigns in the area surrounding Camp Douglas. By the

end of the year, he reported that the Overland Mail route from Ruby Valley east to Salt Lake City was under military control.[16]

The following year Connor was responsible for the massacre of a Northwestern Shoshone group. In late January he and Major McGarry led an expedition against the Northwestern Shoshone on Bear River. Troops surrounded and attacked the Indians just before dawn, killing between two hundred and four hundred people. The soldiers left wounded women and children in the deep snow. The attack destroyed almost an entire band.[17] As reports of this battle spread, all Newe learned what they could expect from Connor, who also sent expeditions against the Goshutes and other neighboring tribes. To counter reported Goshute attacks on mail stations west of Salt Lake City, reinforcements travelled from Camp Douglas to Fort Ruby. In Ruby Valley they found that a large Newe group had returned to the area and camped near the fort. When the troops attacked the Goshutes, the soldiers used several Newe as guides and hostages, apparently threatening to kill the Indians if their bands joined the hostilities. Although Indians killed several soldiers on the mail line, by the middle of the year most Shoshones wanted peace.[18]

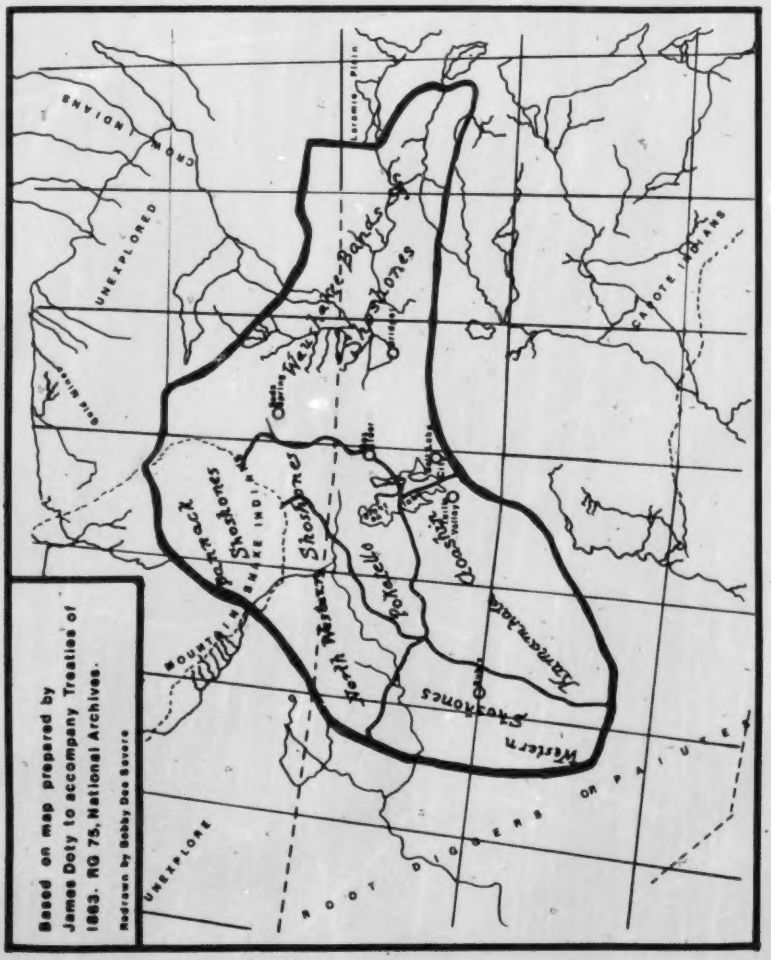
James W. Nye, the governor of Nevada, and James Duane Doty, the governor of Utah, had decided to make treaties with the tribes in their territories. With official permission they initiated a series of negotiations. On July 2, 1863, they concluded a treaty with the Eastern Shoshone bands. On July 30 the Northwestern Shoshone signed a treaty at Box Elder. On October 1 the Western Shoshone accepted an agreement.

Both governors attended the treaty signing. Apparently, extensive negotiations preceded the treaty, which was signed at three houses on the military reservation. (For the full text of the treaty, see Appendix B). The treaty allowed whites to use and settle on certain lands within Newe domain. Stage, mail, telegraph, and railroad lines could pass through the area, "without hindrance, molestation, or injury from the people of said bands. . . ." The government had the right to erect military posts. Mines could be established, timber cut, and farms developed. The Newe agreed to move to reservations within their homeland "whenever the President of the United States shall deem it expedient for them to abandon the roaming life, which, they now lead, and become herdsman or agriculturists."

The treaty acknowledged "the inconvenience resulting to the Indians in consequence of the driving away and destruction of game along the routes travelled by white men. . . ." In compensation the Newe who signed the treaty were to receive five thousand dollars each year for twenty years. In addition to the payment, to be made in goods and cattle, the government would select reservations within the boundaries of Newe territory. Until reservations were chosen, the Newe had the right to continue in their traditional way of life and use any of their traditional lands which were not taken for purposes specified in the treaty.[19] Newe tradition notes that the Indians were to receive free rides on the stages and trains in exchange for the right-of-way through their land, but this condition was not listed in the treaty.

Reports claimed that 2,500 Newe were represented at the treaty-signing. Governor Doty stated that the two main bands—the White Knives and the Unkoahs—attended. Doty added that Governor Nye was to meet with the bands west of Smith's Creek and along the Humboldt later; Nye, however, never reported such a meeting.[20] The boundaries listed in the treaty represent only those bands who participated. Thus a number of important Newe areas did not figure in the treaty: the southern groups, whose land stretched into present-day California; the far western bands, possibly including Tu-tu-wa's, whose lands reached west of the Reese River; and the bands on the lower Humboldt, whose territory extended north to include the present-day Duck Valley Reservation, were not represented.

Of the Newe leaders who signed the treaty, most is known about Temoak, who represented a group of people who lived near Ruby Valley. Until soldiers occupied the valley, his group had moved around the area. Probably fifteen hundred to two thousand Indians, in at least ten bands, lived in the area before the white man arrived. One Newe recalled that Temoak's band numbered five or six hundred before the whites came. When Temoak first met white men, he guided them to Harrison Pass. Later he became a friend of the whites, whom he called "dog face people," and served as a guide for their expeditions against the Goshutes. Because the whites knew him, they may have appointed him the chief negotiator for the Newe. Captain Buck, who had been a prominent leader since Cho-kup's death, also signed the document. Another signer, Pon-ge-mah (Pa-


Based on map prepared by James Doty to accompany Treaties of 1863. RG 75, National Archives.
Redrawn by Bobby Dee Severe
UNEXPLORED
Laramie Plain
Western Shoshones
North Western Shoshones
Bruneau
Owyhee
Boise
Portneuf
Fort Hall
Lemhi
Salmon River
Lemhi Mts.
Beaverhead
Big Hole
Deer Lodge
Flathead
Kootenai
Pend d'Oreille
Spokane
Coeur d'Alene
Nez Perce
Clearwater
Salmon River Mts.
Camas Prairie
Weiser
Boise
Owyhee
Humboldt
Reese
Carson
Walker
Mono
Owens
Tulare
Kern
Mojave
Colorado
Gila
Salt
Zuni
Navajo
Moqui
Colorado
Green
Uintah
Uncompahgre
Grand
Gunnison
Uncompahgre Mts.
San Juan
Animas
La Plata
Chama
Rio Grande
Conejos
Sangre de Cristo Mts.
Arkansas
Huerfano
Cimarron
Purgatoire
Canadian
Red
Wichita
Washita
Kiowa
Comanche
Staked Plains
Llano Estacado
Pecos
Concho
Colorado
Brazos
Trinity
Neches
Sabine
Red
Ouachita
Arkansas
Canadian
Cimarron
Salt Fork
Red
Kansas
Smoky Hill
Republican
Solomon
Saline
Blue
Big Blue
Kansas
Platte
Loup Fork
Elkhorn
Niobrara
Missouri
Yellowstone
Powder
Tongue
Big Horn
Wind River
Green
Bear
Snake
Portneuf
Blackfoot
Port Neuf
Fort Hall
Bear River
Great Salt Lake
Utah Lake
Sevier
Virgin

pong-ga-ma, "Edge of Water"), a Newe translator, had helped arrange the meeting with Temoak. A signer listed as To-so-wee-so-op ("White Knife Man") could have been Temoak's brother ("White Knife Old Man"), or simply a representative of the White Knives. Seven other Newe also signed the treaty: Par-a-woat-ze (Para-wooch-gee, "Coyote Call"), Ga-ha-dier (probably Para-goots-gah-hadier, "Mud Little Heads"), Kirk-weedga (probably Qua-que-jua, "Whiskers"), Po-ongo-sah (Po-on-goots-a, "Grind Pine Nuts to Flour"), Moho-a, To-nag, Sow-er-e-gah, and Ko-ro-kout-ze. Oral tradition identifies two of the signers as Toso-moso (or Doso-mozo, "White Mustache") and Par-de-bo ("Riding on Water").[21] Several of these men had led festivals and other activities within the bands. After the Newe signed this treaty, the government concluded a treaty with the Goshutes, who had lost many people in the military campaign.

In October, when Governor Nye returned from the treaty-signing, he reported that the Newe in Nevada Territory had always been peaceful. He wrote that the Newe were pleased with the treaty and "promised faithfully to observe all of its conditions. . . ." Nye warned that whites might destroy that peace. He noted that some whites encouraged Indian violence to attract soldiers to the area. Then the men profited by selling supplies to the troops. Some secessionists also hoped to keep the soldiers in the west so that they would not be sent to fight in the Civil War. The governor reported that permanent settlement would help to bring lasting peace. More than three thousand people had already settled near a new strike at the Reese River, and Nye predicted that a permanent settlement of ten thousand would develop in the area within another year. These settlers, he claimed, would demand an end to the violence.

The governor also described Ruby Valley, which he found fertile and appealing. Although Temoak and the Newe in the area believed that the reservation had been formally set aside, whites used the land. Nye intended to restore the farm to the Newe. He appointed Henry Butterfield to take charge,[22] but Butterfield, who was an agent for the Overland Mail, used the reservation for the mail company. Although the Newe later recalled that Butterfield, Moore, and Hay had surveyed the land, in 1864 Agent Lockhart reported that the reservation had not been surveyed.[23]

In 1864 the local agent for the Indians on the Humboldt reported that the natural foods in the area had failed. White men overused the land, allowed their stock to destroy it, and drained its resources; bad weather added to the problem. Consequently, the Newe had little food. Nye reported that the Newe near Ruby Valley "strictly observed the articles of compact between the government and themselves." In contrast to his statement the previous year, he claimed that the Indians of Ruby Valley had been hostile until the treaty was signed. Nye also spoke of "presents" which the Indians expected—the yearly installment stipulated in the treaty.[24] Agents requested money to support the White Knives, who lived almost entirely within the boundaries of Nevada in 1864.[25] Despite Nye's optimistic comments, Newe were reportedly unhappy because the government provided nothing for them. Late in the year, reports from Fort Ruby claimed that Newe from Ruby Valley to Austin had so little food that they were forced to appropriate whites' stock. Several Indians were killed as a result. The officer commented in his report that the only requirement for peace was a food supply for the Indians.[26] But since the government had not yet ratified the treaty, the Newe received no payments.

In October 1864 Nevada was proclaimed a state. While a new set of officials began to take charge of the administration of Indian affairs in the area, the Newe were overlooked. Few official records of this time remain. Although the government claimed that a five thousand dollar payment was delivered to the Indians in 1865 and in the successive years, the Newe in Ruby Valley received nothing more than a few blankets and trinkets during that time.[27]

When the new superintendent, H. G. Parker, took office in 1866, he found no papers or records. He compiled information about Nevada Indians on his own, and reported that the Newe had been neglected and as a result were in the poorest condition of any Indians in Nevada. According to his report, 2,500 Newe lived in Nevada. The only ones who received any support from the government were those in the Ruby Valley area. Since the superintendency had no money for transportation, the goods which should have been distributed in the spring had been stored until the fall. Parker also noted that whites south of Ruby Valley were taking the most fertile Newe lands.[28]

During 1866 and 1867 the agent at Walker Lake, Franklin Campbell, frequently commented on the Newe. He claimed that they were "willing laborers who would no doubt gladly concentrate upon some suitable reserve." Some Newe indicated a desire to learn the white man's ways and enjoy his standard of living. Campbell, like many before him, recommended that the government set aside a reservation for the Nevada Newe. He noted: "The reserve in Ruby Valley, which was formerly intended for their use, is now occupied by settlers and the Overland Mail Company's farm. I would recommend that another be set apart for them upon the headwaters of the Humboldt River." [29] He made this recommendation without consulting the Newe involved.

In 1867 Campbell visited Newe in southwestern Nevada. At Belmont (now a ghost town, about ten miles southeast of Round Mountain), he met with approximately three hundred Newe. He reported that "they have but a limited knowledge of the Indian Bureau,—never having received any presents or promises." With Henry Butterfield, Campbell travelled ninety miles east to the "Big Pine Mountains" (perhaps the White Pine Mountains near Duckwater). There many Newe farmed. Campbell was surprised to learn that many of them had never seen a white man. Newe in Steptoe Valley had also farmed before white men came. Campbell also discussed the mining boom in southeastern Nevada, noting that Newe had told whites about nearly all of the rich mines in that area.[30]

At this time the white man's diseases began to take a heavy toll among the Newe. In 1867 Special Agent Griffith, who was sent to the Ruby Valley area, found a camp of almost four hundred Newe, led by Captain Tom, north of the settlement. Most of the people there were "suffering severely from the 'Mumps' while the continued inclemancy of the weather only increased the malady. Most of the males being unable to obtain or hunt for food I deemed it but humane to give them the largest portion of the flour while to the most destitute I gave blankets. . . ." At Ruby Valley Griffith met another group, led by Captain Buck. Buck headed five hundred Newe, but half of the group had gone to the mountains to gather "Tabose" or "grass nuts." The agent wrote that "Captain Buck . . . was created chief by the officers of the fort for meritorius conduct during the last Indian difficulty and has no influence with the tribe outside of the Valley

and the outside . . . Indians do [not] recognize him as chief." At Egan Canyon the agent distributed goods to the Indians. He recommended that they "should be supplied with a far greater quantity since they had previous to the distribution nothing of any consequence." The agent also noted that "White Horse [of Egan Canyon] is acknowledged to be head chief by the Shoshones outside of Ruby Valley." When he returned to the Overland Mail Company's farm, Griffith found trouble. An employee had attacked a Newe woman. In the commotion following the incident, a Newe had his eye shot out. Captain Buck helped settle the matter. A few days later a similar incident occurred at the Shell Creek station. Once again the trouble was settled, and the employees responsible were discharged.

Griffith crossed the boundary between the Goshutes and the other Newe. Both tribes were dissatisfied. Peau-num, a Goshute leader, planned to hold a fandango and war council 30 miles south of Spring Valley. Goshutes and other Newe met for "war talk and consulting upon the propriety of going to war immediately." Griffith accompanied Peau-num to the meeting. According to his report, 1,600 men attended the gathering. If this figure was accurate, it would

Newe began to work for white ranchers as early as the 1860's. Many who worked with stock also participated in rodeos like this one at Elko in 1914. (Courtesy of Willie F. Woods).

indicate a much larger population of Newe than the 2,500 reported in the state at the time. The agent said that almost all the bands in the area except Captain Buck's came to the council. Griffith found them hostile: "Nearly all present were in favor of war but the scarcity of food forced them to postpone such action. I made them promises as I thought would be executed by the Government and distributed nearly everything I had which satisfied them that they were not to be forgotten. . . ." [31]

No war broke out. In the following year the Nevada Superintendent reported that Newe in the southern and eastern portions of the state were quiet and peaceful. He stated that they were willing to work for whites when they could find jobs.[32] Peace continued the following year, and the superintendent reported that good jobs were available for Indians.[33]

In the late 1860's many whites came to the area. In 1867 whites settled Starr Valley and South Fork Valley. In 1868 the Central Pacific Railroad founded the city of Carlin, as railroad construction moved toward Utah. In 1868 and 1869 the White Pine Mining District opened in Newe territory. Thirty thousand people flocked to the area in an eighteen month period. When the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, the west became more accessible to whites. The line ran down the Humboldt, following an old emigrant trail. Because people could be moved in and out of the area quickly, Fort Ruby was abandoned. Easy travel led more whites to exploit the riches of Newe territory.

Carlin Farms Reservation, 1870-1879

> . . . he could not see what was to become of the Shoshones in his country; . . . the game was all gone; the trees that bore pine-nuts were cut down and burned in the quartz-mills and other places; the grass-seed, heretofore used by them for food, was no more; the grassland was all claimed by the whites, and the grass cut for hay before the seed was ripe; that the good land was or soon would be claimed and cultivated by the white people; and that Indians would soon be compelled to work for the ranchers for two bits (twenty-five cents) per day, or starve.[1]

As whites made more and more incursions into Newe territory, taking the best and most fertile lands, the Newe demanded the lands promised in the Treaty of 1863. Although they had been guaranteed plots for farms or ranches, they had received none. The intruders brought increasing hardship, taking Newe homelands and leaving disease, poverty, and destroyed resources. By 1869 several Newe near Austin had died from smallpox. The new Nevada superintendent, Major Douglas, reviewed the treaty and recognized that the Newe were entitled to reservations and payments.[2]

Before Douglas took charge, his predecessor appointed an agent for the area. The Newe remembered this agent, Levi A. Gheen, for decades. Gheen, who was about twenty-nine when he became agent, had lived among the Indians for nineteen years, learning the ways of the people and speaking their language. He accused whites of treating the native people indecently and tried to cut through the bureaucracy to help the Indians.[3]

At the time about ten percent of the Newe worked for whites. Gheen reported that the Goshutes needed help desperately.[4] Newe in the lower Humboldt area urged the new agent to look at some land to the north which they wanted set aside.[5] The agent and the superintendent also visited Newe near Battle Mountain and Austin. At Austin the officials held a council attended by 100 men, 120 women and 300 children. Two Newe leaders, O-bi-ag-a and Tag-wah-nay, also came to the meeting.

Opening the council, the superintendent told the Newe that the government had set aside two reservations for Nevada Paiutes. When he asked if the Newe wanted similar lands, O-bi-ag-a replied that the "Shoshones want a place like that where they can raise something." However, he told the superintendent that the people did not know how to farm or irrigate their lands. Douglas promised that the agent would show them what to do. When O-bi-ag-a added that the Newe would need tools and supplies to farm, the superintendent told him that he would try to get them the materials they needed. The superintendent, however, warned them that if they had a reservation, they would have to work on it: "I am not going to force you to go on a reservation, but if one is set aside and then you leave it or don't go there to work, you must not look to me for assistance [.] I am talking straight to you."

O-bi-ag-a stressed that his people did not want to leave their homes. These Newe, like others, wanted their reservation located in the area where they had always lived:

> We don't feel like going away too far[. We] don't know about White Pine County, Humboldt County or the country away down southeast of here. This is our country and we would like to remain here, but we are willing to do anything.[6]

When Douglas reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he recommended that the promised reservation be set aside "within the limits designated in the treaty as their country." Suggesting that Gheen locate the area for them, the superintendent added that the Newe liked the new agent.[7] However, the government did not set aside a reservation. In late August Indians attacked a stage travelling to Austin, killing three passengers and wounding others. The Elko newspaper reported unrest among the Indians in the area.[8]

During this time Gheen worked with several Newe groups. He helped improve farming around Duckwater and asked for a reservation in the area, where Newe had farmed before white men arrived.[9] Another farm at Elko developed, but although the Indians believed it was a reservation, the land was never officially set aside. In Ruby Valley and throughout Newe territory, whites took the best farm land.[10] Although the Newe all requested lands near their traditional homes, none received them. Those who signed the treaty had been

guaranteed reservations inside the boundaries it established, but the government did nothing.

In early 1871 Thomas Fitch, a Nevada representative, opposed Gheen's activities and had him discharged. The agent protested vehemently, noting that he had paid many expenses with his own money. In December 1870 he had spent twenty-three days travelling through the remote regions to deliver the annuities promised in the treaty. The Indians respected him, and he reported: "There has not been an outrage committed by the Indians under my jurisdiction since I was appointed over them. But I am sorry to say that a few shameful outrages have been committed on the Indians by inhuman white men."[11] Although Gheen remained a farmer for the Newe, he had little influence over government policy in the following years.

Captain Sam, the leader who had spoken to Gheen in 1870, renewed his request for land two years later. Captain Sam led at least 126 people in two bands living north of the Humboldt near two railroad towns, Halleck and Elko. In 1872 Captain Sam was probably allied with Temoak. Later the two separated, perhaps because Captain Sam obtained a reservation near his home. Although Temoak later called him a renegade, Captain Sam was a respected band leader who succeeded in dealing with government agents and obtaining lands for his people. When he approached Gheen, describing an area north of Elko with abundant game and fish, Gheen asked a special agent for authority to investigate the area. The agent promised to look into it, but took no immediate action.[12]

Once again Gheen complained that the Newe had no legal reservations and had difficulty finding food. In Ruby Valley whites farmed the lands set aside for the Indians. Que-ta-pat-so led one hundred Indians at Hamilton; Pit-si-nain led eighty-two at Carlin and fifty-six near Palisade. In 1872 Gheen reported that these Indians had no food.[13]

The following year the government sent an expedition to study the Great Basin tribes. Major G.W. Ingalls and John Wesley Powell, who had explored the Grand Canyon and mapped the Colorado River, led the group. The men tried to list all the bands, describe their territories, and name their leaders. Their report also listed leaders who headed alliances among the thirty-four bands.

POWELL AND INGALLS
WESTERN SHOSHONES OF NEVADA

TRIBE	LOCALITY	CHIEF	CHIEF OF ALLIANCE
Pa'-gan-tso	Ruby Valley	Tim-oak	Tim-oak
	do	To-sho-win'tso-go	do
	do	"Mose"	do
Kai-da-toi-ab-ie	Vicinity of Hamilton	Que-ta'pat-so	
	Vicinity of Halleck	"Capt. Sam"	Tim-oak
	Vicinity of Elko	do	do
	Vicinity of Mineral Hill	Tu'ka-yau-na	
	Vicinity of Palisade	Pit si-nain	
	Vicinity of Carlin	do	
No-ga'ie	Robison District		Tim-oak
	Spring Valley		
	Vicinity of Duckwater	Mo-tso'-gaunt	
	White River Valley		
Pi-at-tui'-ab-be	Belmont and vicinity	Kai'-wits	Kai'-wits
	Hot Creek	Wet-sai-go-om'beom'	do
	Big Smoky Valley	"Brigham"	do
	Vic. of Morey District	To-po-go-om'bi	do
	Vic. of Fish Lake	Wau-go-vwi	do
Na-hae'-go	Reese River Valley	To-to'-a	To-to'-a
	do	Koo-Soo-be-ta-gwi	do
	do	Behr-ha-naugh	do
	do	Uhr—wa-pits	do
	Vic. of Austin	Weg-a'-whan	do
	do	Wedg-a'-gan	do
	do	Kush-sho-way	do
To-na-wits'-o-wa	Vic. of Battle Mt.	Pie-a-ra-poo'-na	Pie-a-ra-poo'-na
	do	Se-no-wets-o	do
	do	No-wits-ie	do
	do	Pie'-a'-nang-gau	do
	do	"Sam"	do
	do	Tim-pits	do
	Vic. of Unionville	Ber-roo-na'	Ber-roo-na'
	do	Do-ro-cho	do
	do	Gas shi-ma'	

Tutuwa and Temoak apparently had considerable influence in other bands. Powell and Ingalls listed only 1,945 Newe in Nevada,[14] but Gheen estimated twice that number. He explained that many bands had been out of the area collecting food at the time, and that some bands had larger populations than the investigators reported.[15]

In 1873 several prominent Newe leaders visited Ingalls in Salt Lake City to discuss the treaty signed ten years earlier. Ingalls concluded that the treaty obligated the government to establish a reservation within the boundaries.[16] He also met with Captain Sam, who asked once again for a reservation about seventy miles north of Elko. Although Gheen repeated this request a year later,[17] neither Powell nor Ingalls mentioned the suggestions. The two men explained that many Western Shoshone bands were not represented:

> . . . not more than one-fourth took part in the treaty of October 1, 1863, made at Ruby Valley in Nevada. The tribes living to the south and west were not present or represented in any manner. . . . Only the northern tribes, who took part in the treaty, have received the benefit of this situation. The southern and western tribes, having taken no part in the treaty, have received no part of the annuities, and consider that they are under no obligations to the General Government, and exhibit some reluctance to their proposed removal to a reservation. The northern tribes, who did take part in the treaty, would prefer to remain where they are now.

Regardless of that preference, Powell and Ingalls recommended removing the Newe to the Shoshone-Bannock Reservation at Fort Hall. Because they did not know the exact boundaries stipulated in the treaty, they picked land far outside the area. Ignoring the Newe's repeated protests that they wanted a reservation near their homes, the two men suggested collecting all the people and moving them to Fort Hall.[18]

The Newe objected strongly to the proposed removal. One Newe group had built homes and farms near Elko, believing that the land was a reservation. When the whites in the area heard of the Fort Hall plan, they rallied to support the Indians, sending a letter and a petition to the state capitol to "prevent the removal of the Western Shoshone Indians from their Reservation near this place. . . ."[19] At Duckwater Newe had planted wheat and other crops. Indians had started a farm twenty-five miles north of Carlin in 1873. The

people did not want to leave the homes and farms they had established. Since Gheen had been unable to help him, Captain Sam approached C.E. Bateman, the agent for the Paiute Reservation at Pyramid Lake. The Newe leader had chosen a new site, nearer to the Humboldt (about twenty-five miles north of Carlin near Jack Creek). Bateman presented his request to the government.[20]

However, the government relied on the Powell and Ingalls report, which stated that the Newe "express a willingness to remove to Fort Hall." The commissioner, who transmitted this false impression, added accurately that most of the Newe, who still relied on traditional foods, found resources increasingly scarce. Many had begun to farm or work for whites. Many were anxious to learn to farm so they could support themselves.

After repeated requests Bateman finally received permission to establish a farm near Carlin. The agent noted that Captain Sam had "claimed a piece of land belonging to the Government in that section of the state and had a team and wagon which with a little help in the way of seeds he could soon provide a sufficiency for himself and family."[21] Bateman hired a local man, John A. Palmer, to help the Newe set up the farm. In December 1874, thirty-one Indians who lived near Carlin sent Bateman a petition asking for "seeds and implements to enable them to sow and plant a few acres of land each this coming spring." The following Newe signed the document:

Captain John of Carlin Indians	Guerverz
Sznashe	Charley Bonner
Charley	Careaks
San Wesey	Namely
George	Hanoetta
Jo Boyers	Bardancha
George Saytver	Ingerson
Jo Geseny	Barber
Sonip	Buguaba
Joaser	Wachamacha
Quenama	Mogana
Noaqua	Frank
Onebit	Honaw
Mament	Jim Bosett
Jack Sam	Warbichic

The petition noted that the Newe had chosen a valley near Buckskin Mountain for their farms. Bateman also visited Battle Mountain,

where the Indians wanted seed to plant in the spring. At his request a local white man prepared a list of Newe who wanted to farm:

Capt. George
Indian George
Captain Alick
Indian Sam
Jim Johnson
Indian Bill
Indian Bucks
Indian Jack
George Washington
Indian Mike
Captain Sam
Indian Charley
Little Indian George
Macrops [?]
Indian Jim
Indian Joe
Big Indian Charley
Little Short Jim
Good Boy
Indian Tom
Big Tom [?] Boy
Duck Jim
Big Jim
Big Tom
Old Man Jim
Big Anger
Little Bob
Captain Bob
Dad Si
Indian Johnny
Big Joe
Big Jim
Alecks Boy Tom
Indian Dicky
Mill Creek Dick
Indian Jim
Jackie
Beaver Iniyu
Fish Jim
Deop
Getevnpa [Golconda?] Sam
Indian Charley
Beaver Tom
Minla
Indian Charly Iron Power
Benavy Charley
Benavy Dicke
Coper Charley
Indian Charley Bateman
Coper Tom
Sams Boy Charley
Captain Sams Charley

Twenty-five members of Captain Sam's family and twenty-five members of Captain Bob's family also wanted to farm. In all, over a hundred men in the Battle Mountain area hoped to plant crops.[22]

The following spring a small farm began at Carlin. Bateman located the farm in an area where no whites had settled or claimed land. Although he had only a little money, by the summer "no finer fields of wheat and potatoes . . . [were] to be found in the country."[23] In May Bateman had only $2,100 for all the Newe in Nevada.[24] Gheen reported that the Newe in eastern Nevada obtained "little or no assistance from the government." The Indians apparently did not receive the $5,000 annuity payment promised in the treaty.

Once again Gheen requested a reservation for the Indians in the Duck Valley area. He noted that many Newe had to pay rent to white settlers for their farmlands. In Ruby Valley, Indians feared that whites would soon claim all the land, leaving them without any. In 1875 an incident with angry whites also threatened many Newe:

> A difficulty occurred in September last, in which an unruly Indian killed a white man, and four peaceable Indians were subsequently killed by the whites. The Indian that killed the white man was

Map of Indian Reservation
Scale
1000 ft. 1 inch
Reservation
W.S. Hobart's land
National Archives Record Group 75-Map 918-
Redrawn by Bobby Dee Bevers
June 5-1884

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> captured and turned over to a military officer, from whom he was taken and hanged by a mob. For a time great excitement prevailed, but the trouble was settled before any serious damage was done. . . . The Indians in the vicinity of the trouble were driven from their homes and rendered destitute.[25]

Although eleven years had passed, the government had done nothing to guarantee land for the Indians. After Bateman resigned in late 1874, the new agent, A.J. Barnes, visited Carlin Farms. In 1876 nothing protected the Indians' title to the land. Since the Elko County land register did not list the Newe's farms, Barnes suggested that they be surveyed before whites made entries in the area.[26]

The same year Gheen reported almost four thousand Indians, including the Goshutes, within Newe territory. The government had provided nothing for those in the eastern part of Nevada. Since Mormons had provided some assistance, many Indians had been baptized. After the 1875 incident many Newe had fled to Deep Creek, the Goshute reservation. When they left, whites stole their crops. Since the government did nothing to prevent the theft, the Newe endured an especially severe winter. Gheen met with Captain Sam and Tsa-wie, a leader from the White Pine area, who spoke of the devastation of their lands and predicted a bleak future. Once again the Newe asked Gheen to help them find a place which could be set aside for them.[27]

In 1877 the government finally set aside reservations at Duck Valley and Carlin Farms. Duck Valley, established outside the treaty boundaries and far from white settlers, became permanent. Carlin Farms, however, lasted only two years. An Indian Inspector who visited the farms reported that no accurate surveys had been made. By April 23 Barnes surveyed the land and erected monuments and corner stones to mark the Indians' farms. On May 10 an Executive Order set aside 52.61 acres at Carlin Farms.[28] The reservation prospered that year. The people harvested grain, thrasted it, and stored it in cellars. They built barns, cellars, and houses, improving the lands with little government help.

However, as both Carlin and Elko grew rapidly, whites there decided that the Carlin lands were valuable. They began to settle on the reservation, manipulating the entries in the surveyor's offices. Soon whites argued that they had occupied the land for many years.

Although the intruders brought many changes, the Newe continued to hold their traditional celebrations and gatherings. Left to right: John Couchum, Sam Dick, Hugh Stevens, Dick Hall, Nick Woods, Duden Woods, Mr. Hall, Willie Couchum, Louie Cavanaugh, Ed Leach, Harry Dixon, unidentified, and Willie Joaquin. (Courtesy of Carrie Woods Mendoza).

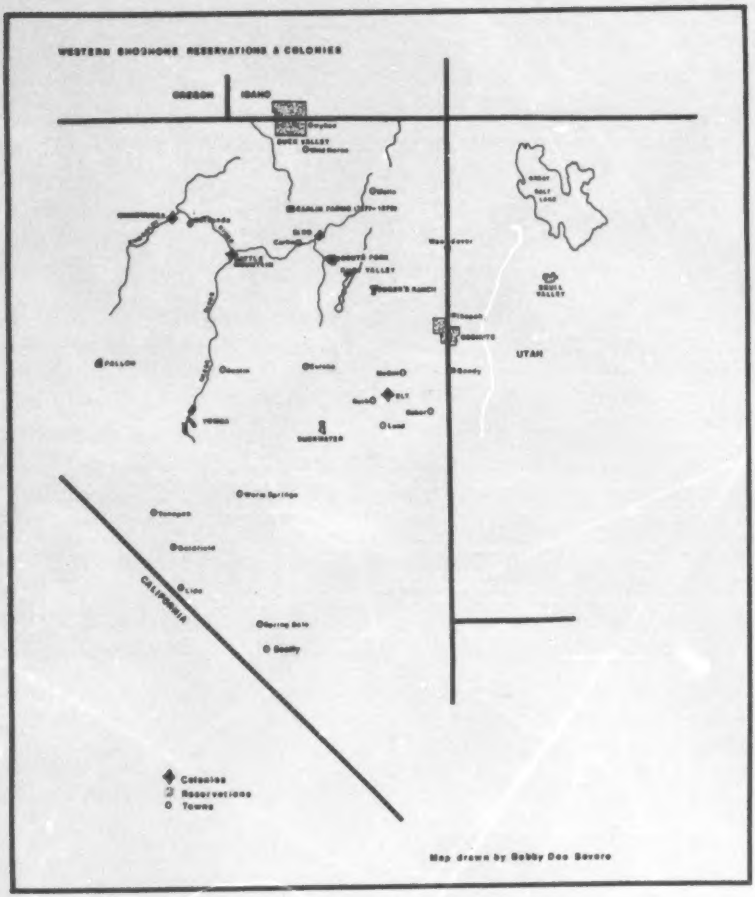
They told Barnes that whites had claimed almost all the land at Carlin Farms before the Executive Order.[29] John Palmer, the farmer helping the Newe, complained that whites tried to take the land fraudulently.[30] Within a year their illegal efforts to evict the Indians succeeded. In 1879 the President issued a second order revoking the reservation. Once again the Indians lost their homes because of white greed and selfishness.

The Reservation Era

> Long ago plenty of game and fish was all around you . . . right at your tents. Food was plenty, your tents were warm and you lived well . . . . But soon all this began to change. Food for man began to be found in the ground. White man and many Indians too, saw the buffalo and deer and antelope going away from on the earth. They became tired of carrying guns and finding little game and they got hungry and it made them sad to hear their children cry for food . . . white man's money buys everything. Indian money no good now—It has gone away with the Buffalo—it will never come back.[1]

By the 1860's the Shoshone, like other native peoples, had suffered from the white man's greed. These intruders—the settlers, miners, and travellers—shared one common feature: the desire to own the land and its resources. Their culture taught them that their God supported them, and they believed they had the right to use any means necessary to reach their goals. Indian people, whom the whites considered obstacles to their progress, felt the relentless pressure of the expanding white civilization.

Responding to the demands of the white citizens, the United States government tried to relocate Indian people on various reservations. This policy served more than one purpose. First, it removed the Indians from areas where whites had settled, eliminating many conflicts over land and resources. It also allowed the federal government to control the Indian people's lives directly. Finally, it "gave" some land to the country's original inhabitants, reducing the intruders' sense of guilt. The settlement, however, could not compensate the Indians for what they had lost. In the place of rich valleys filled with plants and game, they received small plots of land. Mines, roads, and never-ending fences scarred the country. In this changed land, the Indians found their rights, their culture, and their way of life threatened.


WESTERN SHOSHONE RESERVATIONS & COLONIES
OREGON
IDAHO
DUCK VALLEY
BATTLE MOUNTAIN
SOUTH FORK
VALLEY
GREAT SALT LAKE
SKULL VALLEY
UTAH
FALLON
ELY
CALIFORNIA
Colonies
Reservations
Towns
Map drawn by Bobby Dee Severe

SHOSHONE MIKE: THE END OF A WAY OF LIFE

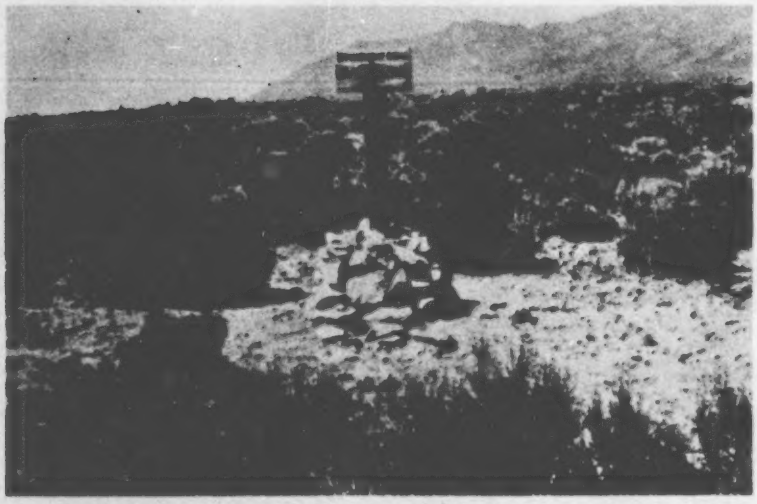
Early in 1911 an event marked the end of a way of life the Newe had enjoyed from time immemorial. For many years the white intruders had made it difficult for the Newe to follow the old ways. The government hoped to confine the Indians on small reservations were they would lose their freedom in exchange for handouts from the white men. Because they chose to live as their ancestors had, refusing to accept this system, Indian Mike and his small band lost their lives.[1]

Indian Mike, also called Shoshone Mike and Mike Daggett, lived with his band in the Black Rock Desert area in northeastern Nevada. Several cattle and sheep companies operated in the area, taking large "holdings." One outfit, Miller and Lux Inc. Land and Cattle, controlled most of the land.

On January 19, 1911, the company sent four men to Little High Rock Canyon to investigate a reported cattle-killing. The four men, Harry Cambron, J.B. Laxaque, Peter Erramouspe, and Bertrand Indiano, never returned. Several weeks later, a search party found their frozen bodies. The search party concluded that "some band of lawless Indians" had killed and robbed them. Although no one ever found proof that Indians had been responsible, the men's friends and relatives immediately formed a posse to seek revenge.

The target of their hatred and rage, Indian Mike's band, consisted of twelve people, including the seventy-year-old Indian Mike, his wife, three sons, two younger women, and five children. Citizens offered a fifteen thousand dollar reward to those who assisted in the "final extermination and capture of this handful of renegade Indians, who lived a wandering, criminal life."

About February 11 the posse set out to find the band. Twenty-two men, including a Paiute tracker, Skinney Pascal of Lovelock, travelled across the Black Rock Desert to Winnemucca and east from there to Clover Valley. On Sunday, February 26, they found Indian Mike's small, quiet camp at Kelly Creek. Reports claim that the Paiute, Skinny Pascal, shouted to the Shoshones to surrender. When they refused, the posse began to shoot. Indian Mike was one of the first to die. After the first bullet hit him, he spoke his name; then another shot at close range killed him.

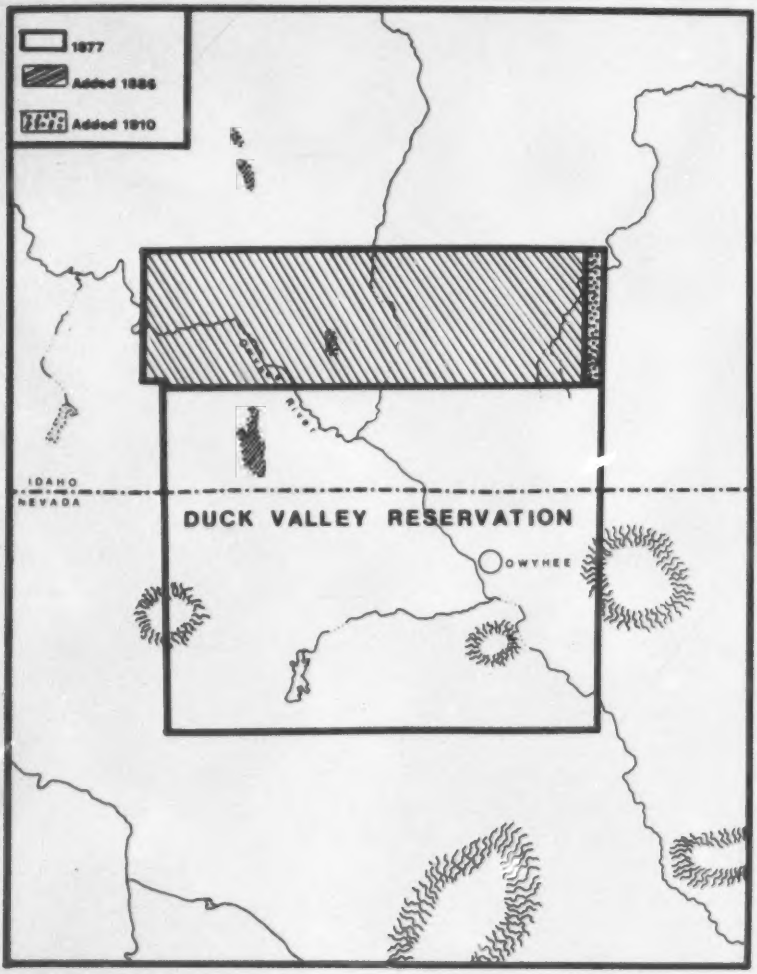


Shoshone Mike and his family were buried in this mass grave near Kelly Creek. (Courtesy of the Nevada Historical Society).

Before they stopped shooting, the posse killed everyone in his family except a sixteen-year-old girl and three small children. Two of the children lay on their dead mothers' backs. One member of the posse also died. Later the whites argued that they had had to kill the women and children because the Newe had defended themselves so fiercely. The white men reported that "two little girls about four and six had been seizing gravel from the bank and with both hands, throwing it into our faces." The posse took most of the Indians' belongings as souvenirs, burying Indian Mike and his family in a common grave. With this tragic incident, the intruders symbolically destroyed an old and proud way of life.

DUCK VALLEY RESERVATION, 1877

By 1877 Newe in eastern Nevada felt the pressure caused by increasing white settlement. As the whites moved in and took over, land and water grew scarce.[1] Levi A. Gheen had spoken with Captain Sam, a Newe leader, who told him that "his" area north of Elko had plentiful game and fish, good farmland, and abundant timber.


1877
Added 1886
Added 1910
IDAHO
NEVADA
DUCK VALLEY RESERVATION
OWYHEE

The leader suggested that this place be made into a reservation for his people.[2] The government finally gave Gheen permission to examine the land, known as Duck Valley, to see if it would be suitable for a reservation. Gheen travelled to Duck Valley, recommending that it be set aside:

> I started on the 15th of March in company with Captain Sam and his nephew. The Indians furnished four horses for the occasion, two of which we used to pack our provisions, blankets, etc. I arrived at Duck Valley and remained there some days and carefully examined the country in order that I might be able to make a correct report. After a thorough examination I considered the place suitable for a reservation for the Shoshones, and in fact better than I had expected to find.[3]

Seven years after Captain Sam's first request, an Executive Order declared Duck Valley a Shoshone reservation. Gheen received the order, dated April 16, 1877, at the end of the month. He contacted the various bands immediately, asking them to send representatives "for the purpose of examining the proposed reservation." When Gheen arrived there in early June, he found "368 Indians camped on the proposed new reservation." These people told the officials that they were "pleased with the country and their future prospects."[4]

Several other Shoshone groups, however, strongly opposed moving to Duck Valley. The Ruby Valley people, under Chief Temoak, had been given a six-mile-square tract in Ruby Valley and wanted to remain there. The government never lived up to its word by officially approving this reservation. Other groups who refused to move told Gheen that if they left the homes of their ancestors, "their spirit will be lost." Noting that "more Indians can be gathered in Duck Valley than can be cared for with the means now at the disposal of the Department for that purpose," Gheen recommended allowing these people to remain in their homes until other arrangements could be made.[5]

Because few whites had settled in Duck Valley, government officials believed it would be easy to convert the area to a reservation. Only three whites had farms in the valley in 1877, but their claims included "nearly all the land that is of value for cultivation, hay and pasture purposes." Levi Harris had taken 400 acres in the area just north of the present town of Owyhee; Henry Boyle claimed 350 acres

north of Harris' land, on Boyle Creek; David Coates, Harris' stepson, had settled on the east side of the river, south of Harris' ranch.[6] Until 1882 these men stayed at their ranches. Then, on November 2, the agent ordered them to leave the reservation boundaries, adding that the government would pay them for their claims.[7]

In the years following the reservation's establishment, the government provided very little assistance for the Newe who had moved to Duck Valley. The agent, John How, lived a hundred miles away in Elko and rarely visited the isolated reservation. Both the Newe and white settlers complained that How neglected the reservation and became involved in fraudulent activities. Finally, after a special investigation, the government suspended How on January 20, 1882.[8] Arden R. Smith, a special Indian agent, took charge of the reservation and the 250 Newe living on it.[9]

How's mismanagement, combined with a particularly severe winter, led many Newe to leave the reservation in 1882. During the winter twenty-two Newe died, and many became sick. Since the people saw no hope of improvement, many began to move back to their old homes in the spring. On May 10 and 11 Special Agent Smith met with several leaders in Tuscarora. The Indians listed their grievances: "Snow and cold and sickness and death, John How, no police money for months and no agent."[10] Smith, who hoped the Indians would remain, introduced the newly appointed agent, John S. Mayhugh. Most people agreed to return to Duck Valley. All but one of the leaders, including "Captain Sam, George Washington, Captain George, Captain Buck, Big Dick, Jim Johnston, and Captain Charley," promised to bring their bands back.[11] When Mayhugh took over, reservation life improved. The new agent moved onto the reservation with the people, making plans for the future, planting crops, ordering supplies, and beginning construction.

However, on February 5, 1884, shortly after the first crisis, Commissioner Price ordered Special Indian Agent Cyrus Beede to induce the Duck Valley Shoshone "to remove to the Fort Hall Agency in Idaho."[12] On February 26 Beede called the Indians in council to request their removal. The leaders, with the tribe's endorsement, "declined to make any negotiations whatever, for the surrender of the Duck Valley Reserve." One after another, the leaders spoke against the plan. Captain Sam, listed as "head Chief," began:

> This is my place. . . . Government gave it to me. Government tell me, go to Fort Hall, two railroads. . . . I all time tell Mayhugh, I no want railroad across reservation. Indians get drunk about railroad. No white man here—no whiskey, no drunk, boys work all right—My Indians say no get off reservation . . . born here, mother die here, pappose [sic] born here, government tell me this my home. . . . I can't go to Fort Hall.

Captain George added:

> Government give us Duck Valley Reserve. Just now Government ask me to go. I say no. . . . I no saavy Government give me land Duck Valley, then ask me go to Fort Hall. . . . I can't go. I got cows, chickens, ranche [sic], no give away Duck Valley pretty good here . . . got wood on mountains, lots hay, I stay here longtime I think, hard work we break ground, raise everything[.] I'm too old to move away. Bye and bye [sic], I die.

Captain Buck spoke of the many moves the Shoshone had made:

> After one year government give us some cattle in Ruby Valley, 100 head, same time Len Wine told me find good piece land, and I get it. I say all right—Next spring I find little piece and sow wheat, potatoes, turnips, 4 years ago I work that piece. Next time I go to Carlin farm. Next time "Duck Valley"[.] That is way I move all time. Just now I'm tired. That is why I no go Fort Hall.[13]

Subsequently, the government abandoned its plans to move the Western Shoshone groups from Duck Valley to Fort Hall.

On August 4, 1885, about sixty Paiutes led by Paddy Cap arrived at the reservation. They brought a letter from the Yakima agent, instructing them to come to the Duck Valley area. Agent Mayhugh recommended either that they be sent to the Pyramid Lake Reservation or "as they earnestly wish they be allowed to select some place in the vicinity of this Reservation where they each could take a farm and be under the supervision of the resident agent at Duck Valley, as they seem to prefer this agency to any other place. . . ."[14] On May 4, 1886, President Cleveland issued an Executive Order setting aside additional land at Duck Valley "for the use and occupation of said band [the Paiutes led by Paddy Cap] and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon."[15] In 1910 President Taft added more land to the reservation.[16]

Soon after the reservation was set aside, the government established a boarding school. After its first year the school was converted

The tribal police maintained law and order on the Duck Valley Indian Reservation. This photograph shows tribal policemen at the turn of the century. Left to right: Simon Been, Charlie Thacker, George Prentice, and Sam Harney. (Courtesy of Mamie Thomas).

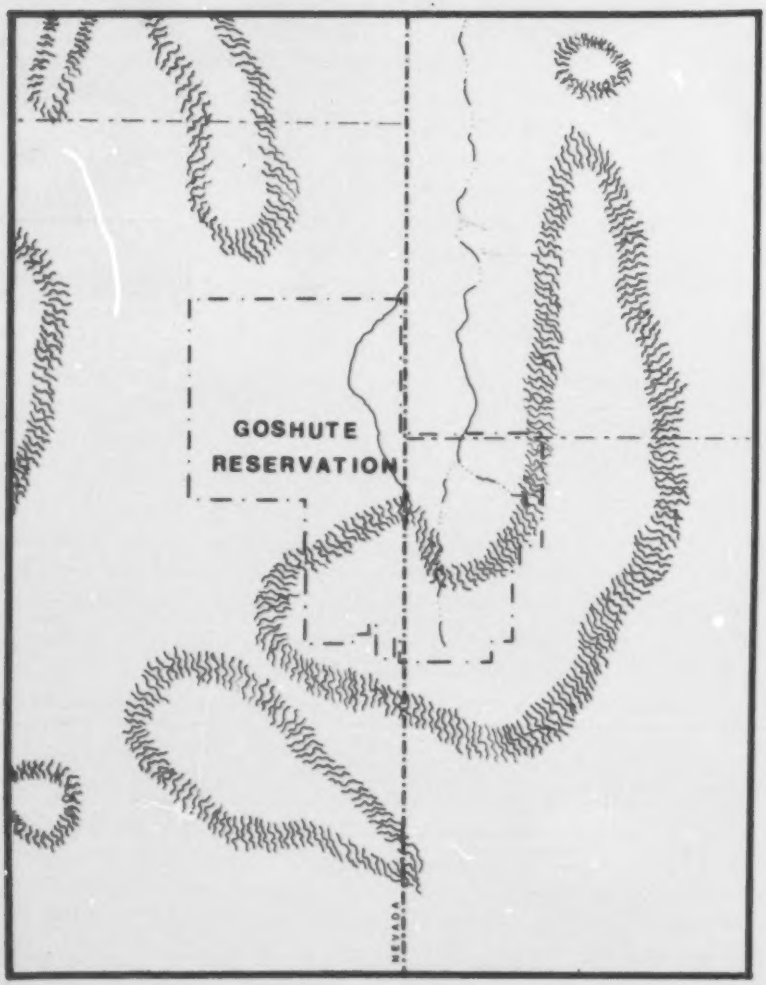
This picture shows the Western Shoshone Headquarters and the corral at Owyhee in the early days. (Courtesy of the National Archives).

to a day school. In 1884 a boarding school reopened, and in 1900 a new boarding facility was built on the hill near the site of the present Public Health Service Indian Hospital. Eleven years later three day schools (one in Chinatown, one at the agency, and one at Miller Creek) replaced this school. A public school opened in Owyhee several years later, and, in 1931 when the day schools closed, all the students enrolled in the Swayne School. Until 1946 it had only nine grades; then the school added high school classes. Ten years later this local school district consolidated into the Elko County School District.[17]

The Shoshone-Paiute tribes of the Duck Valley Indian Reservation extend tribal membership to all those enrolled in the 1935 census, as well as their descendents born on the reservation who are at least one-fourth Shoshone or Paiute. Tribal members elect six councilmen and a chairman for three-year terms on the Shoshone-Paiute Business Council, which governs tribal affairs. On April 20, 1936, Congress approved their constitution and by-laws, which may be amended by a majority vote if at least thirty percent of the eligible voters participate. Any change in the constitution is subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Tribal voters also have the right of referendum on any resolution or ordinance passed by the Council. At present the tribe affiliates with the National Congress of American Indians and the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada. The tribe also works with several agencies, including the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and several tribal programs and committees, including the Housing Authority and the Western Shoshone-Paiute Livestock Association.[18]

GOSHUTE RESERVATION, 1914

The name "Goshute" came either from a leader known as Goship or from *Gutsipupiutsi,* a word which means "Desert People" (*Gutsip*: ashes, dust or dry earth; *Upiutsis*: people). The Bureau of Indian Affairs and other agencies use the term to refer to a group of people living on the Nevada-Utah border. Traditionally the Goshutes, a Shoshone people in culture and language, lived within the Great Basin. Their territory extended from the Great Salt Lake to the Steptoe Range in Nevada, from the Salt Lake Valley to Granite Rock


GOSHUTE
RESERVATION
NEVADA

in the desert to the west, and from Simpson Springs on the south to the Great Salt Lake Desert. The Treaty of 1863 included a description of Goshute lands, bounded "on the north by the middle of the great desert, on the west by Step-Toe Valley, on the south by Tooele or Green Mountains and on the east by Great Salt Lake, Tooele and Rush Valleys." The Ruby Valley Shoshone say: "Ride hard all night and in the morning you will be in Goshute Land." [1]

Long before white men entered Deep Creek Valley, the Goshutes spent the winter there. They lived in dug-out houses covered with poles, willow branches, and earth. At the top of the home, a hole allowed smoke to escape. The people wore buckskin clothing, used blankets woven from buck-brush bark and rabbit skins, and slept on mattresses woven from rye grass. In the spring they moved closer to the mountains to gather wild onions, small potatoes, and carrots, and hunt woodchuck and ground squirrels. They stayed near the mountains through the summer, gathering pine nuts and preparing dried meat in the fall. When winter came, they moved back to the valley.

Then blue-eyed white men with hairy faces and arms arrived. When the Goshutes first saw these people, they believed the whites were evil-doers or devils. Near Wendover, along a trail the whites used to reach California, they watched the strangers from a distance. After a time the whites invited them into their camp and gave them some fried meat. When the whites left, the Goshutes found a dead man with part of his body cut away. Realizing that the whites had given them human flesh to eat, the Indians tried to clean out their stomachs.

Soon more whites came to settle in the valleys. They hired Indians to work for them, paying them food rather than money. The Goshutes worked hard to clear the brush and make farm lands for the white intruders, eating their meals on the white men's woodpiles. Money did not mean anything to the Indians, who lived on the abundant food Mother Earth provided. But as the white people used the plants to fatten their cattle for sale, Indian food became white man's money. The whites brought many changes to the Goshutes. They introduced contagious diseases like measles, whooping cough, and tuberculosis. They enforced different laws and ways of behaving. Before the whites arrived, the Shoshone language had no curse

words. A person who did something wrong had to live with his guilt. If a man murdered another, he was killed in punishment.

In the 1850's Mormon missionaries came to Ibapah to teach the Goshutes their religion. They told the Indians they were the chosen people, and the Book of Mormon was their book. The Indians, however, had their own religion. They had always followed rules established by the older members of the tribe. When the Mormons promised that their God would save Indians who were baptized, many people converted. However, most of them became sick and died. The Indians believed that those who did not return home had been poisoned by the bread or the water used in the sacrament. The elders advised the young people not to trust the whites, who would kill them no matter what good things they promised, for although these people were white outside, they were black inside.

After the Mormons, soldiers came to the Goshute lands. One troop attacked a group of Indians who had gathered in Spring Valley to dance and give thanks. An Indian doctor there warned the people that something terrible would happen. The soldiers killed the men, women, and children in one family. The Indians, furious that whites had killed innocent people, went to the soldiers' camp near Goldhill, Utah. One man, who had powerful dreams, dreamed that the white man's bullets could not kill him. When the Goshutes neared the fort, they looked over the hill and saw that the soldiers did not know they were there. Since only a few Indians had come, the man who had had the dream ran into the fort, not caring whether the soldiers who had murdered so many women and children killed him as well. As he ran in a zig-zag pattern, soldiers shot at him but did not hit him. When he reached the camp, the soldiers locked themselves in the barn. The Indian man went into the kitchen, a tent with a wooden floor. He ate some of the soldier's bread, since their noon meal had been prepared. Then he set the barn on fire. Inside the burning barn, soldiers screamed and cried and cursed him. The Indians took revenge, killing all the soldiers in return for the people whites had killed for no reason. The Indians say that white people will all be punished for the evil they have done.

In 1863 the Goshutes signed a treaty of peace and friendship with the whites. Chief Tabe, a Ute Chief, and other leaders signed the treaty in Tooele Valley. In 1864 the government ratified this

This picture shows the "farmer's" house (left) and the school (right) on the Goshute Reservation. (Courtesy of the National Archives).

treaty, which did not give up any land. Fifty years later President Taft established the Goshute Reservation. The Executive Order of March 23, 1914, set aside 34,560 acres for the tribe. In 1928 an additional purchase enlarged the reservation to over 111,000 acres, adding the Probert and Triun Ranches in Nevada.

The Goshute reservation straddles the Nevada-Utah border seventy miles south of Wendover, Utah, and ninety-five miles northeast of Ely, Nevada. Access to the reservation, one of the most isolated in the area, is difficult. Part of the journey must be made on gravel roads. Today about sixteen families live on the reservation, which is divided into two parts separated by non-Indian land.

BATTLE MOUNTAIN COLONY, 1917

The Newe called the area seventy miles southwest of Elko *Tonomudza,* naming it after a greasewood-covered peak north of the valley. This land, near the boundary between the Newe and the Northern Paiutes,[1] received the modern name "Battle Mountain" after a conflict between an emigrant train and an Indian group.[2] Several Newe groups, concentrated in four main areas, once lived in the fertile valley. One group lived between Battle Mountain and Iron

Point, another at Pagowe, and a third near Beowawe. The *Tosawi* or White Knives, named after the white flint they made into knives and arrow points, lived north of Battle Mountain. Before the whites arrived, Battle Mountain was a central area for rabbit drives, antelope drives, and festivals.[3]

The influx of whites affected the Newe living near Battle Mountain, the Austin area, and the Reese River Valley. As soon as they arrived, white farmers and ranchers claimed the fertile lands along the Humboldt and its tributaries, as well as the springs and creeks. The intruders took and destroyed many native foods. They even had the impudence to make their own laws and try to enforce them on the Newe. Later one elderly woman explained the Newe's feelings to a white game warden who confronted her about a fishing license:

> He asked, ". . . do you got a license to go fishing?" She said, "why do you want to know that for? I don't have to fool with no license, that's my own country. . . . You not belong here, where you come from? You come over the Spain? . . . I don't have to buy no license, not for nothing, everything is belong to me . . . anytime my husband go get deer, we don't have to pay for it. You the one!" [4]

These Newe danced at a fandango at Battle Mountain. Left to right: Doc Blossom, Owen Tybo, unknown, Wilber Blossom, Sam Holley, Dick Beeler, and Charlie Malotte. (Courtesy of the Nevada Historical Society).

In 1870 whites opened a store near the Central Pacific railroad station completed the previous year, forming the town of Battle Mountain, which provided supplies for surrounding ranches and nearby mining towns. The boom in Battle Mountain lasted until mining interests in the area declined. In 1881 direct railroad service from Battle Mountain to Austin, the county seat, began.[5] As part of an agreement which allowed the railroad to run through Newe land, the people could ride the old Nevada Central Railroad to and from Austin at no charge. Families rode on the freight cars, carrying food, blankets, and clothing. During the trip, which took a day, they played cards and handgames.[6]

In 1917 the government set aside 688 acres for the Shoshone, establishing the Battle Mountain Indian Colony by Executive Order.[7] Until 1936 many Shoshone in the area lived on the outskirts of the town, near the Duval Mobile Park and the Big Chief Motel. Many families depended on ranch work for a living. In the summer they put up hay on non-Indian ranches near Golconda, Tuscarora, and Beowawe. Many women did housework in Battle Mountain and at the ranches. In the 1930's construction began on the colony. In 1934 the people erected ten homes in a circle. Three years later they added a community building in the center.[8]

At first Shoshone children attended school with the white children in Battle Mountain. When a new school was built, the white children transferred there while the Shoshone children remained in the old building. Myra Miller, a woman in her late seventies who taught in the segregated Indian school, recalls that Indian children could not attend the white school until the 1930's. After the old Indian school was torn down in 1964, the original bell was taken to the Battle Mountain High School Campus.[9]

About half of the present colony residents are descendents of the original Battle Mountain Newe. Many Newe from Austin and Reese River came to the colony, while a number of Battle Mountain people moved to Elko and South Fork. In 1972, under the Federal Home Improvement Project, the colony began to renovate fifteen homes purchased from the Getchell Mine near Winnemucca. The residents are also remodeling the community center and building a playground, park, and picnic area around it. The Public Health Service has provided sewers, water lines, and a new well. A six-

member tribal council governs the tribe.[10] A Parent Education Committee serves as a liaison between the colony and the school. Residents elect one representative to the Te-Moak Council. The Battle Mountain Tribal Council also belongs to the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada and participates in many of its programs.[11]

ELKO COLONY, 1918

Newe lived in various places along the Humboldt River, including a major village called *Punodudumoin* ("A place where winter is spent") or *Punodungahnivain* ("Place where the house is") near the area where the South Fork River enters the Humboldt. The people who lived there, and at several other smaller sites near Elko, were called *Tsogwi Yuyugi,* taking their names from a plant root.[1] Until the whites arrived, these Newe prospered. Many plant foods grew in the area, which also had plentiful deer, antelope, rabbits, squirrels, fish, and other wildlife. Every year the Newe held a regular antelope drive just northeast of the valley.[2]

When whites intruded and settled on the choice lands, many Indians had to move near the ranches, farms, and towns to find work. On December 29, 1868, representatives of the Central Pacific Railroad founded the town of Elko. Many Newe camped near the railroad town and worked in the community, doing manual labor, washing, chopping wood, and cleaning houses. They located their first camp near the downtown area, on Steninger Hill at 3rd and Court Streets, building their *wu-kahnee* or homes.[3] As the town grew, white residents pushed the Newe from this site to a second camp near Hot Springs. Further expansion moved the Newe to 9th and Garcia Lane, near the Garcia Rodeo grounds. Finally they moved to the Walnut and 5th Street area.[4] Five families, who later bought the land from the city, still live in this area. In 1918 an Executive Order established a 160-acre reservation on a hill to the east of the present Indian colony. With government materials the Indians built 10 homes there in 1923 and 1924. Approximately 250 Shoshone lived on the tract. Although the city water tank was less than 2,000 feet away, these people had neither water nor sewer facilities.

About 1930, non-white residents pushed the Indians out of their homes again. Complaining that the Indians were "a threat to their health" and might contaminate their water supply, the citizens, encouraged by Dr. Worden,[5] urged government officials to move the Shoshone once more. Dr. Worden offered to sell his land to the government for thirteen thousand dollars. C.J. Rhoads, the commissioner of Indian affairs, recommended buying this land in May 1930.[6] By July 10, 1931, Congress had authorized the purchase of 32.8 acres. The government then appropriated seven thousand dollars to move all the homes from the old site to the new. Some of those homes are still standing; others were erected in the late 1930's, when students from the Stewart Indian School helped colony residents build new homes from railroad ties. To date the Elko Shoshone have not been moved since they acquired the second colony.[7]

Since Elko was the largest town in northeastern Nevada, many Shoshone from nearby areas came to find employment there. Even before the government officially established the colony, many people from Carlin Farms, Ruby Valley, Wells, South Fork, Halleck, and Clover Valley came to the railroad town. Shoshone from as far away as Austin, Battle Mountain, Reese River, and Beowawe also came to Elko to find jobs. Many of these people settled there when the colony was founded; many more joined them later.

Because white townspeople did not want Shoshone children attending school with their children, the government established a school on the tract for the Indian children.

> Mrs. Foster was our white school teacher. She had a son who attended the white public school. The Shoshone children walked to school every day. Lunches were served at the school. Friday was the day when they fed us codfish. None of us like it. During lunch before we eat, we place a sheet of paper on our lap. When the teacher wasn't watching, we put the fish in the paper and roll it up and hide it in our clothes and after we finished the meal we went outside and threw it away. The boys would watch us and tell Mrs. Foster. She would make us stand in the corner for hours. When she thought we had enough punishment, we would sit down.[8]

Like many Indian schools, the Elko facility did little to recognize the children's culture or heritage.

After the Indian Reorganization Act passed in 1934, the solicitor's office ruled that the Elko Colony, like other small Shoshone

This picture, taken about 1930, shows the south end of the Elko Indian Colony with the school at top left. (Courtesy of the National Archives).

Elko Shoshone school children pose with their teacher, Mrs. Foster, in front of the Community Building in 1935. Left to right: Mr. Tools, L. Bill, M. Carson, L. Healy, Mrs. Foster, E. Healy, L. Holly, G. Couchum, I. Hammond, F. Carson, B. Stevens, N. Johnson, B. Johnson, I. Joe, D. Jim, A. Pete, N. Green, W. Green, B. Healy, P. Johnson, H. Holley, E. Bill, M. Johnson, J. Tom, P. Holly, L. Harney, H. Johnson, R. Tom, C. Paradise, G. Pete, F. Pete, and D. Malotte. (Courtesy of Marie Bill).

bands, did not qualify as a recognized tribe and could only organize a government "on a reservation basis." Following this ruling, several Newe groups joined together as the "Te-Moak Bands of Western Shoshone Indians of Nevada" to form a tribal council.[9] Under the Te-Moak Council, the Elko Colony adopted a constitution in 1938, with Battle Mountain and South Fork. Each of the three groups elects representatives to the "loose federation" which has legal authority over all tribal lands.[10]

The Elko Community Council, which has six representatives elected from the colony, handles the tribe's local business. The candidates must belong to the Te-Moak Tribe, be at least twenty-one, have at least one-fourth Shoshone blood, and have lived on the reservation for at least one year.[11] This council governs the colony, contracting with several agencies to provide social services and economic development programs. Elko residents also elect two representatives to the Te-Moak Council and belong to the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, a statewide political organization.[12]

ELY COLONY, 1931

The Newe called Steptoe Valley *Bahanai*. Several Newe villages, including those at Duck Creek, McGill, Warm Springs, Schellbourne, Egan Canyon, and Cherry Creek, were located there. Ely was the largest village in the valley.[1] Pine nuts grew abundantly in the nearby mountain ranges. The Newe gathered the nuts in large quantities, storing them for winter use. Other plant foods, like the once-plentiful sand seeds, "have been largerly destroyed by sheep."[2] Throughout the valley the Newe held regular rabbit and antelope drives, and communal deer hunts. Festivals were held in conjunction with the various food-gathering activities, at places in the area where large quantities could be gathered. After the people had stored the winter's supply, they celebrated.

Once, as a tribal elder recalled, Indian colonies flourished at Ruth, McGill, and Ely. However, when the Kennecott Copper Company moved into the area to mine, it pushed the Newe out of these areas. Towns grew rapidly, almost overnight. Many homes were built for company employees, some on old Indian cemeteries. During this

period the Newe made their homes near the towns. They had to make their living by working for white miners and ranchers or in white homes in the area.[3]

In 1931 the federal government purchased 9.95 acres of land near the city of Ely as a colony for Newe in the valley who were not affiliated with any reservation. On January 22, 1973, the United States Government, as a trustee for the Ely Colony, entered into a 55-year lease with White Pine County for 10.1 acres in East Ely. On this site, under the Housing and Urban Development Project, seventeen new homes were built by Ely Colony members.[4] The city of Ely provides water, sewers, and electric facilities for this leased site. In addition the streets are paved and the tribe is acquiring funds to install sidewalks.[5]

The Ely Colony Tribal Council has jurisdiction over the colony, which includes both the original site and the recently leased land. In 1966, under the authority of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the tribe organized this council. Tribal members elect a chairman and four members to the council, which governs the business affairs of the Ely Shoshone Tribe.[6]

YOMBA RESERVATION, 1937

Before white men arrived, many Newe lived in the green, fertile Reese River Valley.[1] This valley, one of the few in the area with enough water to maintain a flowing stream year round, made a pleasant home. The varied elevations on the nearby Toiyabe Mountain range provided many different plant foods. This plentiful area allowed the people to gather food near their homes. The Newe also sowed wild grass seeds in plots tended by all the village members. They gathered sand bunch grass, tule, wild rye, sunflower seeds, onions, and wild potatoes, as well as buffalo berries, wild cherries, elderberries, and wild currants. With all these plant foods, they could easily store enough for the whole winter.[2] During the year the people followed an orderly cycle of activities. In the spring they camped in Smith Creek Valley. Then they travelled through Ione Valley, hunting sagehen, and arrived at Reese River Valley for the summer. During summer and fall they gathered the abundant vegetation,

harvesting pine nuts in the fall. They caught deer, rabbit, and other game to add to their diet. For winter the Newe camped in Alpine Valley.[3]

Although the people worked hard to gather these foods, they also enjoyed playing games and relaxing. One of the Reese River Newe's favorite games was *we-soy*, a women's winnowing-tray game. The pieces for the game were two-inch mahogany sticks, painted red on one side. The player shook twelve pieces in a winnowing tray, threw them in the air, and caught them on the tray as they fell. If one, two, or five sticks landed red side up, the player scored points for each of them and threw the sticks again. If any other number of pieces landed on the red side, the player lost her turn. The first player to reach twenty-five points won the game. The Newe only played this game during the day, since anyone who played it at night risked losing a loved one.[4]

In the 1860's, before whites settled nearby towns, Indian agents came to the area to make peace with the Indians along the Humboldt River. Warren Wasson, who visited the area, met Tutuwa, a Newe leader who stands out in Reese River Valley history. The agent worked out terms for peaceful co-existence, and Tutuwa probably believed he had negotiated a treaty, since his promises echo those in other treaties negotiated with Shoshone bands. Tutuwa, who had been a leader for some time, had as many as three or four hundred Newe in his band in 1862. Later his brother and son-in-law followed him into leadership.[5]

In 1863 Austin became the county seat. Already the pleasant life the Newe had enjoyed had begun to change. Whites squatted on Newe land and built ranches. However, the native people tried to maintain their existence as much as possible. Austin became a center for Newe festivals. People travelled from areas throughout Reese River Valley as far north as Battle Mountain, and from the Smith Creek, Ione, and Edwards Creek Valleys. Paiutes from western Nevada also came to the festivals conducted by Chief Tutuwa. Many gathered for the celebrations, connected with both seasonal food-gathering activities and religious ceremonies.[6]

As more whites moved to the area and the ranches grew, however, the Newe could no longer travel freely to gather food. Since the intruders took the best land, the Newe had to make their homes where

they could. Often they built mud houses near the ranches, where they found work breaking horses, rounding up cattle, harvesting hay, and irrigating the fields. Because whites had depleted the resources, the Indians had to adopt new ways of living. On May 12, 1870, Major Douglas met with over five hundred Newe at Austin, asking if they were willing to farm if they had land of their own. One leader, O-bi-a-ga, replied for them that they did not want to move far from their homes, but they did want land.[7] Later, when Duck Valley was established, the government tried to relocate the Reese River Valley people there, but they preferred to stay in their homeland.

For many years the Indians lived on the white man's property and worked on his ranches. They grew dissatisfied, wanting their own land. Finally, under the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18,1934, the government bought four tracts for the Reese River Newe: the Bowler Ranch (July 19, 1937), the Bolster Ranch (November 12, 1937), the Dieringer Ranch (November 1, 1940), and the Worthington Ranch (February 28, 1941).[8] This land formed the Yomba Reservation, occasionally referred to as Reese River Reservation. As the lands were purchased, the superintendent of the new reservation assigned a lot to the head of each family.

The reservation has remained a rural community. The people grow alfalfa and raise some cattle. Under the Repayment Cattle Program, the government provided livestock for the Indians. The Bureau of Indian Affairs bought cattle for the reservation, allowing the Indians to pay with stock when the herd increased. Then the B.I.A. gave cattle to other Indian groups, who returned stock to the government, allowing the process to continue. The Reese River Indians once had grazing rights which ran from Reese River to the Walker River Reservation. However, the Bureau of Land Management denied those rights, taking grazing areas from the Indians. Each time the Bureau draws a new fence line, it cuts into Indian land and deprives the Yomba Reservation of its grazing rights.[9]

In the 1930's students from the Stewart Indian School near Carson City, Nevada, built many of the homes the Newe live in today. In the 1960's the Indians asked the B.I.A. to renovate these homes. Although the B.I.A. made some repairs, the officials did not install bathrooms or make the improvements the Indians asked for.[10]

Today the Yomba tribe owns 4,718.49 acres.[11] The Reese River,

which flows through this land, supplies water for irrigation, and as many as 1,634 acres have been irrigated.[12] The Indians use wild hay, the most important crop on the reservation, to feed their stock.[13] About 60 Indians live on the reservation,[14] which organized a tribal council in 1939 under the Indian Reorganization Act. Each year the tribe elects two members to the six-member council. The members, who serve three-year terms, manage reservation affairs.[15] Although the area is still rather isolated, the people are developing the resources available to them. A dam on the Reese River would help supply water for farming. New housing and better facilities are needed. In addition the tribe hopes to develop a turquoise-finishing industry.

DUCKWATER RESERVATION, 1940

The Duckwater Indian Reservation lies in a fertile valley, filled with many kinds of plant food, including plentiful sunflowers, red top grass, and sand bunch grass. Before white men came to the area, the valley supported many people. The *Tsaidika* ("Tule Eaters") who lived at Duckwater were the largest Newe group in the area, but other bands settled nearby, wherever there was water. All the bands near the valley held regular festivals and rabbit drives at Duckwater.[1]

As white settlers arrived, many Newe left. Between 1877 and the early 1900's, many Duckwater Newe moved to Western Shoshone reservations at Duck Valley, Battle Mountain, South Fork, Ely, and Elko, in northern Nevada. Although the settlers had taken the choice lands, the Newe still hoped to return to their homelands. When the government began to create reservations for the Newe who lived on public domain land in 1937 and 1938, the Newe learned that the Angelo Florio Ranch in Duckwater was for sale. The Smokey Valley Newe, who had been asked to move to Yomba, wanted to buy this land, which was closer to their homes than Yomba and had a permanent natural water supply.

Several leaders from Duckwater proposed the purchase to B.I.A. officials. After three years of negotiations and countless trips to Stewart, Tonopah, and Duckwater, on November 13, 1940, the Department of the Interior approved land purchases for an Indian

reservation for the Duckwater Shoshone and other southern Nevada Indians.[2] Between 1940 and 1944 the government bought 3,785 acres in the area.[3] Newe families from Smokey Valley, Cherry Creek, Warm Springs, and White River moved to the new reservation.

In those first years the people had to deal with many problems. Until 1942 most families lived in tents while their homes were built. Some returned to their old homes during the winters because the weather at Duckwater was too cold. During this period the Government supplied staple foods, as well as large quantities of whale blubber, which was apparently plentiful and easily available. By 1943 most families had planted gardens, but the Duckwater residents still depended on game and wild plants for much of their food supply.

The Shoshone used the natural mineral springs, which gave Duckwater its name, to irrigate their farms. Later, with reimbursable government loans, tribal members purchased work horses and harnesses, as well as saddle horses and milk cows. Each family also received seven cows. As the small herd increased, the tribe repaid the

Many Smokey Valley families moved to the Duckwater Shoshone Reservation when the United States government purchased these lands in 1940. This picture shows Newe in Smokey Valley in 1912: Willie Davis, Eddie Carrol, Raymond Darrow, Dannie Millett, an unidentified boy, Jimmy Darrow, Ruth Darrow, Jimmy's wife, Maggie Darrow, and Topsy. (Courtesy of Dannie Millett).

government loan; then tribal members received individual revolving loans to increase their stock.[4]

In the early reservation years, the children went to the Stewart Indian School near Carson City. Later many Duckwater children attended a public elementary school near the reservation in the Nye County School District. However, the tribe became dissatisfied with this school and, on November 27, 1973, opened the Duckwater Shoshone Elementary School. The school, run by an all-Indian school board, was established to provide more individual instruction and to teach children about their own culture, while giving them a solid foundation in language and mathematics.[5]

When the reservation opened, medical facilities were scarce. At that time the reservation had no Indian doctor either. Although the closest hospital facilities are still in Ely, seventy-two miles away, a talented, well-known Indian doctor lives on the reservation today.

Under the authority of the Indian Reorganization Act, the tribe prepared a constitution and bylaws, which tribal members approved in November 1940. The governing council, which has five members serving staggered terms, conducts all of the tribe's business transactions.[6] The Duckwater Shoshone tribe also belongs to the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, a statewide organization which provides economic programs, educational plans, and social service projects.

SOUTH FORK RESERVATION, 1941

The land along the South Fork, a tributary of the Humboldt, was an important food-gathering site for many Newe. Its location at the foothills west of the Ruby Mountains made it an ideal area, with access to an abundant variety of plant and animal foods. South Fork was also an important festival site in the early days.[1] The Newe who lived in the Lee or South Fork area were called *Soo-ho-ogue* ("Cottonwood trees that flow down like a stream"), *Du-a-ve-newenee* ("People who lived among the salver berries"), and *Du-a-mute-newenee* ("People who lived on a point on a ridge").[2] Today the people use *Soo-ho-oque* to describe the area.

According to some early South Fork residents, tribal leaders originally intended to establish a twenty-square-mile reservation

there. Recalling the provision in the Treaty of 1863 which promised that the government would create a reservation for the Newe within their defined boundaries, many Newe wanted a reservation at South Fork. Many who had refused to move to the Duck Valley Indian Reservation still lived near their original homelands, usually on or near white ranches. The continual surge of white settlers and the growing towns near railroads and mines repeatedly pushed them out of their homes. At the time whites referred to these people as "landless Indians." [3] A few leaders accepted the idea of one large reservation for the Western Shoshone tribe, pushing for a large reservation at South Fork.[4] However, despite an effort to persuade all "landless Shoshones" to move to South Fork,[5] many refused to move, saying they wanted to stay in their own homes. They asked the government to purchase land for them "in their own country." [6] So the government abandoned the plan of one large reservation, deciding to make smaller land purchases for the various groups who had refused to move to South Fork.[7]

To form the reservation, the government bought several pieces of land from private white landowners near South Fork for those Shoshone who lived in the area and others who moved there:

RANCH	ACREAGE	DATE OF PURCHASE
Griswold Ranch	5,862.28	May 29, 1937
Drown Ranch	2,195.63	March 31, 1938
Oligive Ranch	1,514.96	November 14, 1938
Odgers Ranch	1,987.04	December 10, 1938
Dewar Ranch	1,412.27	March 24, 1943
	2,708 20	June 14, 1951

Subsequent purchases increased the reservation to its present size, 15,036.56 acres.[8] An Executive Order in 1941 officially set this land aside as a reservation.

In the early years the reservation had several problems. First, as one Shoshone who moved from Battle Mountain to South Fork in 1938 recalled, the people had to find jobs and build homes: "Clark Drown had a ranch here who I worked for at $1.50 a day, five days a week. It was the same time the rehabilitation homes were being built . . . . While we constructed our future homes, most of us lived in tents." Using railroad ties, the people spent about a year building

South Fork
Indian Res.
Elko
South Fork
Indian Res.
Franklin Lake
Ruby Valley
Odgers Ranch
Indian Res.
Map drawn by Bobby Dee Severe

After the turn of the century, many Newe families made their homes in tents. (Courtesy of Willie F. Woods).

these houses: "There was a supervisor from Reno who had helped us. . . . All of the labor was done by the Indian men who lived here. . . . At about this time we worked on ranches and in the spare time, built our homes."[9] Many of these homes are still standing and occupied today.

Many Shoshone who settled at South Fork Reservation took advantage of a new government loan program to purchase farm machinery. The loan program provided two thousand dollars, to be repaid over a ten-year period at three percent interest. The people

used the money to obtain farm equipment: "With this money, we bought horse-drawn mowers, rakes, buck-rakes, plows, and whatever the money could cover. With the little money we had made from jobs, we bought seeds so we can raise crops from our garden. This helped through the hardship that existed." The Shoshone who had moved to the newly created reservation faced many hardships. Since most people had to travel by wagon or horseback, transportation presented a problem in the first years: "As the years passed, some of us bought automobiles. Once a year we travelled to Elko to buy food and clothing. Having the general store in Lee had helped quite a lot. We were given credit on groceries that we paid after selling our hay crop." Since the nearest doctor lived in Elko, the people also had difficulty getting to medical facilities. However, the Shoshone were able to care for those who became ill: "We took care of our sick people, using the Indian doctoring way, we cured and healed sickness. This is still used among our people on the reservation today." [10]

The Newe who moved to South Fork made ranching their livelihood. From left to right, this 1940 photograph shows Willard Green, Richard Tom, Perry Johnson, Clifton Oppenheim, and Lester Tom. (Courtesy of Carrie Woods Mendoza).

To obtain governmental recognition, the South Fork Shoshone, with Elko Colony and Battle Mountain Colony, organized under the Constitution of the Te-Moak Bands of Western Shoshone Indians in 1938. This "loose federation" has authority over all land matters on the member reservations and colonies. Elected representatives from each of the member tribes sit on the Te-Moak Council. In addition, community councils located on each of the reservations conduct local business.[11] South Fork tribal members elect the South Fork Community Council, consisting of a chairman and four members.

In recent years several improvements have been made at South Fork. In September 1966 electrical power reached the reservation for the first time. Until 1966 South Fork residents depended on wood and coal for heating, and kerosene lamps for light. The South Fork Council, in conjunction with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, contracted with Wells Rural Electric Company to install electricity. The tribal council purchased electrical supplies to wire individual homes. Three tribal members, directed by a B.I.A. employee from Owyhee, completed the wiring. Recently seven miles of reservation roads were blacktopped. Previously only gravel roads crossed the reservation. The B.I.A., with the assistance of a private contractor, supervised the road construction, employing Indians from South Fork, Elko, and Owyhee.

Like most other Indian reservations in the state, South Fork participated in the Mutual Help Housing Project, a program sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. To date seven homes have been constructed at South Fork. However, most of the elderly residents still live in the "tie" homes they built in the 1930's. In 1975 a new multi-purpose community building was also completed on the reservation. This building, funded through an Economic Development Administration grant, provides a meeting area, office space, medical care facilities, and a recreation hall. Both the South Fork Community Council and the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada now have offices in this building.[12]

Industry on the reservation centers around cattle. The Te-Moak Livestock Association, under the jurisdiction of the South Fork Community Council, administers the cattle business. Individual cattle owners join the organization. Because of its limited size, the reservation must lease most of its grazing land from the Bureau of Land

Management and the U.S. Forest Service. Economic development has greatly increased the reservation's potential in recent times. Prospects for expansion include the housing projects and many other services for South Fork residents.[13] On this beautiful reservation the Shoshone have many plans and considerable room for growth.

WELLS INDIAN VILLAGE

The Newe in Wells and the surrounding valleys called themselves *Kuiyudika* (the name of a desert plant which they ate). Within this main group there were a number of sub-groups. The *Doyogadzu Newenee* ("End of the Mountain People") and the *Waiha-Muta Newenee* ("Fire Burning on a Ridge People") were only two of the groups which lived in the area. They held fandangos on a regular basis at several places, but the main festival site was *Dain-Dan-Toyova* ("Hole in the Mountain") in Clover Valley.[1]

An elder of the Wells Indian village recalled that the Wells Newe were promised many things when they signed the 1863 treaty:

> . . . The whites . . . came over the ocean . . . claiming my land as theirs. We own it. We held dances all over our Indian land. We held fandangos in Starr Valley, Deeth and Waiha-Muta and also over by the corrals [loading chutes], north of Wells. They destroyed our land. Our ancestors said the whites would never harm the soil. Our children were promised by the whites. They speak with two tongues. They killed the ones who stood in the way.
>
> My ancestors made this agreement with the white people. Our generation now don't fight like we did years ago. It is [not] written. What was said years ago cannot be brought out now. They're buried with the truth. That's why we don't have a chance with the white man. I agreed with the white man years ago because I was afraid of them; maybe that's why I'm alive today. Promises made years ago were never kept. Rivers, mountains, land were fenced in. They told me I couldn't make fire outside my home or they would make trouble for me. I listened to them.
>
> We don't belong to Temoak. We belong to our own Wells Shoshone Tribe. We live here by ourselves. A white man came to see me and he told me he could give me good water and improve my land. I told him everything I have here is mine, I don't need his help. . . . He walked off.[2]

Many Newe who lived in the Deeth area later moved to the reservations in Elko, South Fork, and Wells. This photograph shows Lizzy Pete and her sister, Ida Pabawena, in 1908. (Courtesy of Willie F. Woods).

Newe have lived in Wells since the town began as a small railroad station in the 1870's. Since the late nineteenth century, the Indians have lived on land which belongs to a non-Indian named Birdzell. The Indians call the village *Wee-ahd*. Today most of the Indians find work in the city, which has eighty-one Indian residents.[3]

The facilities and living conditions in the Wells village have been very poor. The Indians live in homes they built themselves from railroad ties and low-grade lumber which was available. Very few houses have running water and indoor plumbing. Village members still get their water from a pump in a wooden shed. The people rely on wood and coal for heating and cooking.

Recently the Wells residents organized the Wells Indian Community Council to deal with the problems facing them. On April

14, 1976, the Te-Moak bands of Western Shoshone recognized the community council as a committee. Representatives from the Te-Moak Tribal Council and the Bureau of Indian Affairs met with the Wells city council to propose a new location for the village. They requested eighty acres presently managed by the Bureau of Land Management. The Wells residents, who hope to relocate on this new site on the west side of the city, have sent letters to congressmen, governors, commissioners, and the secretary of the interior. If the officials grant their proposal, the Wells Newe will finally receive the land guaranteed them in the treaty signed over one hundred years ago.

DEATH VALLEY

Once the overflow from a mountain spring ran wildly down the mountain into a part of Death Valley. Newe who lived in the area dug a ditch, channelling this water so that they could control it. U ...l the 1880's they built their homes beside the ditch, using the di erted water.[1]

In 1883 the Pacific Coast Borax Company came to Death Valley to mine, establishing the Greenland Ranch.[2] As the company grew,

This picture shows a Newe encampment at Death Valley at the turn of the century. The kah-nee *(home) and the people's clothing reflect a mixture of the old ways and the white man's influence. (A W.J. Lethbridge photograph, courtesy of the National Park Service).*

it demanded more and more water, eventually taking the Newe ditch. White men's treachery, greed, and selfishness also caused other problems for the native residents. Near the mountain the Death Valley people had dancing grounds. They came to this place to offer thanks for the many foods provided for them. The intruders, however, took the land away, building the Furnace Creek Inn on the dancing grounds.

Later another group came to the area, creating even more restrictions. After Death Valley was declared a National Monument on February 11, 1933,[3] the Park Service began to administer the area. They claimed the mountains, ponds, trees, and land for the federal government, prohibiting the Newe from hunting rabbits, squirrels, ducks, deer, and bighorn sheep as they had always done. Although they took the land, the officials made no provisions for its inhabitants. Hoping to increase tourism, the Park Service officials wanted the Newe to live in tepees. The Indians rejected this proposal, since they had never lived that way. Their land was too hot for people to live comfortably in tepees.

Even without this attraction, tourism increased steadily at the Death Valley Monument. As more visitors came, the area's original people lost more and more land. The Park Service told the Indians they would have to leave their homes so that the golf course could expand. The Newe did not want to move into the desert area selected for them, but the government forced them to move. Although the golf course did not expand, their lands became part of the National Park. In 1936 the Civilian Conservation Corps built adobe and timber homes on the undesirable desert site and installed a water line, but no electricity, for the Death Valley Newe.[4]

In the summer the Newe always travelled to the surrounding mountains, since the valley was too hot. One of their favorite summer camps was Wild Rose, where they could gather many materials for their baskets and hunt bighorn sheep. However, the Park Service ordered them not to return to Wild Rose, forcing them to travel to Beatty or Fish Lake Valley for the summer. Several Newe believe that the officials barred them from their favorite summer location because the government wanted to set the area aside for tourists. Thus the Death Valley Newe lost both their summer and winter homes.

Even after whites had forced the people out of the valley onto forty acres of poor desert land, they still tried to eliminate the Indians. In the 1950's when anyone died or moved away, the Park Service hosed his home down. The force of the water dissolved the adobe and destroyed the building, leaving the person's descendents without a home.

However, despite the intruders' efforts, the Indians steadfastly refused to leave the land that had always belonged to their people. Today twenty-two Newe still live in Death Valley in the homes built in the 1930's.[5] Although the houses are too old to have electricity installed safely, the people have had to live in them because they have no other place to live. Today the Death Valley Newe hope to gain recognition and new housing. They have filed a petition through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, asking for official recognition as an Indian tribe. With this official status the tribe could legally own land and qualify for new housing. However, since bureaucratic delays slow this process, their hopes for land and housing will not be fulfilled for many years. Until that time the Death Valley people will persist, as they have for many years, in the lands where their ancestors lived.

In one hundred fifty years, the Shoshone have suffered massive changes at the hands of a foreign culture. Once generations of Newe passed traditions on to their children, perpetuating an ancient way of life in an abundant land. When the whites arrived, they quickly claimed, fenced, and exhausted that land. As its native people watched with horror, the "Taibo" outlawed and destroyed their way of life. Today descendents of those Newe have begun to reclaim their rights, restore their heritage, and rebuild their lands. Despite the devastating intrusions, the Shoshone have preserved much of their culture, and they look to its wisdom to provide direction for their future.

Appendix A

The Treaty of 1855

Treaty made and concluded on the 7th day of August one thousand eight hundred and fifty five between Garland Hurt Indian Agent for the Territory of Utah for and in behalf of the President and Senate of the United States of the one [?] part and the Chiefs, head men and such warriors of the Sho-Sho-nee nation of Indians (commonly called snake Diggers) occupying the northern and middle portion of the valley of the Humboldt of the other part.

Article 1.

We the chiefs and head men of the Sho-Sho-nee nation do hereby declare that all former disputes and feelings of hostility between our people and the people of the United States are this day amicably adjusted and settled.

Article 2.

We guarantee to the people of the United States perfect safety to life and property at all times when peacefully sojourning in, or traveling through our country.

Article 3.

We give the right of way through our country to the people of the United States that said people may pass and repass without harm to themselves or property.

Article 4.

We will treat all persons claiming to be citizens of the United States who may settle in our country as brothers and friends, and not as enemies.

Article 5.

We acknowledge the supremacy of the Laws of the United States and Utah [———] all persons who may hereafter commit

crimes within the limits of our country shall be accounted amenable to said laws.

Article 6.

We will use all diligence when called to aid the officers and people of the United States in arresting and bringing to justice, all persons who may have committed crimes within the limits of our country irrespective of the tribe or nation to which the offender may belong.

Article 7.

And the said Garland Hurt, for, and in behalf of the President and Senate of the United States, pledges hereby [?] the friendship and good will of the people of the said States to the chiefs and people of the said Sho-Sho-nee nation.

Article 8.

For, and in consideration of the faithful observance of all the obligations above stipulated on the parts of the Chiefs and people of the said Sho-Sho-nee nation of Indians, the President of the United States will give to the chiefs and people of said nation, through his proper agent, the sum of three thousand dollars in presents such as provisions, clothing and farming implements etc. to be delivered to them at some convenient point within the limits of their country, on or before the 30th day of September 1857. Provided however that if any part of the above treaty shall be violated by any of the chiefs, or people of the said Sho-Sho-nee nation the above obligation on the part of the President of the United States shall be void or held at his deservation [reservation?] until such time as ample atonement shall have been made for such violations. Provided further, that if the President and Senate of the United States shall refuse to ratify this treaty, the same shall be void.

In witness whereof the said Garland Hurt and the aforesaid Chiefs and head men have known to subscribed their names and affixed the seals.

Garland Hurt

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Nim-ah-tee-cah (Man Eater)
Sho-cop-it-sio (Old Man [?])
Pan-low-quan (Diving Mink [?])
Tow-quan-da-a-su (Young Ground Hog)
Sho-cop-it-sa-timon
Pow-wan-tah-wah (Strong Smoker)
Jan-oup-pah (Climbing Man)
Ink-ah-bit (2nd Man [?])
Ko-too-bot-su
Mol-sow-wit-su-mot-tow (The Four ——— [?])

Signed in presence of A.P. Haws Interpreter, Peter Haws, C.L. Craig, Van ———[?] Hugrain [?], Francis Gomes, Joseph Kenois [?], Leonard Wissez, Charles Woodare, John Enos, Orlo Whiteside, Norman Day.

Appendix B

The Treaty of 1863

Treaty of Peace and Friendship made at Ruby Valley, in the Territory of Nevada, this first day of October, A.D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, between the United States of America, represented by the undersigned commissioners, and the Western Bands of the Shoshonee Nation of Indians, represented by their Chiefs and Principal Men and Warriors, as follows:

Article 1.

Peace and friendship shall be hereafter established and maintained between the Western Bands of the Shoshonee nation and the people and Government of the United States; and the said bands stipulate and agree that hostilities and all depredations upon the emigrant trains, the mail and telegraph lines, and upon the citizens of the United States within their country, shall cease.

Article 2.

The several routes of travel through the Shoshonee country, now or hereafter used by white men, shall be forever free, and unobstructed by the said bands, for the use of the government of the United States, and of all emigrants and travellers under its authority and protection, without molestation or injury from them. And if depredations are at any time committed by bad men of their nation, the offenders shall be immediately taken and delivered up to the proper officers of the United States, to be punished as their offences shall deserve; and the safety of all travellers passing peaceably over either of said routes is hereby guaranteed by said bands.

Military posts may be established by the President of the United States along said routes or elsewhere in their country; and station houses may be erected and occupied at such points as may be necessary for the comfort and convenience of travellers or for mail or telegraph companies.

Article 3.

The telegraph and overland stage lines having been established and operated by companies under the authority of the United States through a part of the Shoshonee country, it is expressly agreed that the same may be continued without hindrance, molestation, or injury from the people of said bands, and that their property and the lives and property of passengers in the stages and of the employes of the respective companies, shall be protected by them. And further, it being understood that provision has been made by the government of the United States for the construction of a railway from the plains west to the Pacific ocean, it is stipulated by the said bands that the said railway or its branches may be located, constructed, and operated, and without molestation from them, through any portion of country claimed or occupied by them.

Article 4.

It is further agreed by the parties hereto, that the Shoshonee country may be explored and prospected for gold and silver, or other minerals; and when mines are discovered, they may be worked, and mining and agricultural settlements formed, and ranches established whenever they may be required. Mills may be erected and timber taken for their use, as also for building and other purposes in any part of the country claimed by said band.

Article 5.

It is understood that the boundaries of the country claimed and occupied by said bands are defined and described by them as follows: On the north by Wong-goga-da Mountains and Shoshonee River Valley; on the west by Su-non-to-yah Mountains or Smith Creek Mountains; on the south by Wi-co-bah and the Colorado Desert; on the east by Po-ho-no-be Valley or Steptoe Valley and Great Salt Lake Valley.

Article 6.

The said bands agree that whenever the President of the United States shall deem it expedient for them to abandon the roaming life, which, they now lead, and become herdsmen or agriculturalists, he is hereby authorized to make such reservations for their use as he may deem necessary within the country above described; and they do also hereby agree to remove their camps to such reservations as he may indicate, and to reside and remain therein.

Article 7.

The United States, being aware of the inconvenience resulting to the Indians in consequence of the driving away and destruction of game along the routes travelled by white men, and by the formation of agricultural and mining settlements are willing to fairly compensate them for the same; therefore, and in consideration of the preceding stipulations, and of their faithful observance by the said bands, the United States promise and agree to pay to the said bands of the Shoshonee nation parties hereto, annually for the term of twenty years, the sum of five thousand dollars in such articles, including cattle for herding or other purposes, as the President of the United States shall deem suitable for their wants and condition, either as hunters or herdsmen. And the said bands hereby acknowledge the reception of the said stipulated annuities as a full compensation and equivalent for the loss of game and the rights and privileges hereby conceded.

Article 8.

The said bands hereby acknowledge that they have received from said commissioners provisions and clothing amounting to five thousand dollars as presents at the conclusion of this treaty.

Done at Ruby Valley the day and year above written.

James W. Nye
James Duane Doty

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Te-moak, his x mark
Mo-ho-a
Kirk-weedgwa, his x mark
To-nag, his x mark
To-so-wee-so-op, his x mark
Sow-er-e-gah, his x mark
Po-on-go-sah, his x mark
Par-a-woat-ze, his x mark
Ga-ha-dier, his x mark
Ko-ro-kout-ze, his x mark
Pon-ge-mah, his x mark
Buck, his x mark

Witnesses:

J.B. Moore, lieutenant-colonel Third Infantry California Volunteers.
Jacob T. Lockhart, Indian Agent Nevada Territory
Henry Butterfield, Interpreter

Ratified on June 26, 1866.

Notes

TEMME NANEWENEE (OUR ANCESTORS)

[1] Interview with Doris Yowell, Shoshone, South Fork, November 6, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #38).

[2] Interview with Lillie Pete, Goshute, June 24, 1974, interviewer Edwin Naranjo (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #92).

[3] Interview with Doris Yowell, Shoshone, South Fork, December 5, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #40).

[4] Letter from Lillian Garcia, Shoshone, South Fork, to Winona L. Holmes, Director of History and Culture Project, January 17, 1976.

[5] Doris Yowell, December 5, 1974, File #40.

[6] Interview with Josephine Couchum, Shoshone, Elko, November 21, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #59).

[7] Interview with Josie Carson, Shoshone, Elko, December 18, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #23).

[8] Interview with Marie Bill, Shoshone, South Fork, October 21, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #35).

[9] Josephine Couchum, File #59.

[10] Interview with Ray Yowell, Sr., Shoshone, South Fork, December 5, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #60).

[11] Interview with Doris Yowell, Shoshone, South Fork, November 20, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #41).

[12] Lillie Pete, File #92.

[13] Doris Yowell, File #40.

[14] Interview with Hugh Stevens, Shoshone, Elko, November 19, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #33).

[15] Doris Yowell, File #41.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Interview with Jessie Tom, Shoshone, South Fork, December 17, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #22).

[18] Interview with Venus Cortez, Shoshone, Elko, December 12, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Elko: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada History Project, File #1).

[19] Jessie Tom, File #22.

THE FIRST INVADERS:

TRAPPERS AND EMIGRANTS, 1827-1846

[1] Lillie Pete, "Goshute History," June 24, 1974 (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #92).

[2] David E. Miller and David H. Miller, "Introduction," *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1827–1828 and 1828–1829*, by Peter Skene Ogden, ed. Glyndwr Williams (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971), p. xiv.

[3] Isaac K. Russell, *Hidden Heroes of the Rockies*, quoted in Charles Kelly, "Jedediah Smith on the Salt Desert Trail," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 3, No. 1 (January 1930), p. 26. Although Russell describes the Indians as "Piutes," Skull Valley was clearly Newe territory.

[4] Ogden, *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1827–1828 and 1828–1829*, p. 109.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 116–17.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 117–21.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

[13] George Nidever, *The Life and Adventures of George Nidever [1802–1883]*, ed. William Henry Ellison (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), p. 33. Slightly higher estimates of the size of this group are given in Zenas Leonard, *Adventures of Zenas Leonard, Fur Trader*, ed. John C. Ewers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959) and in Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, ed. Edgeley W. Todd (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 281.

[14] Leonard, p. 68.

[15] Irving, p. 282.

[16] Leonard, p. 68.

[17] Irving, p. 283.

[18] Leonard, p. 68.

[19] Nidever, p. 32.

[20] Leonard, p. 68.

[21] Irving, p. 283.

[22] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), p. 205.

[23] Charles Kelly, "The Salt Desert Trail," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 3, No. 2 (April 1930), pp. 64–67.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[28] Dale L. Morgan, *The Humboldt: Highroad of the West* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1943), pp. 71–73.

[29] Gloria Griffen Cline, *Exploring the Great Basin* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 187.

[30] Charles Kelly and Dale L. Morgan, *Old Greenwood* (Georgetown, California: The Talisman Press, 1965), p. 117.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 164–66.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 169–70.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[36] Allan Nevins, *Fremont, Pathmarker of the West* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1955), p. 213.

[37] Dale Morgan, ed., *Overland in 1846: Diaries and Letters of the California-Oregon Trail* (Georgetown, California: The Talisman Press, 1963), pp. 242–43.

FORTY-NINERS, MORMONS, AND GOVERNMENT AGENTS, 1847–1854

[1] Interview with John Couchum, Shoshone, Elko, October 24, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #72).

[2] Dale L. Morgan, *The Humboldt: Highroad of the West* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1943), p. 182.

[3] Archibald Hanna, "Foreword," *The California Gold Rush*, by the Editors of *American Heritage* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1961), p. 8.

[4] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), p. 97.

[5] Morgan, pp. 209–10.

[6] Interview with Josie Carson, Shoshone, Elko, December 18, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #23).

[7] Interview with Hugh Stevens, Shoshone, Elko, October 24, 1974, interviewer June Tom (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #36).

[8] Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), p. 97.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[10] Letter from J. H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 29, 1852. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[11] Letter from J. H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 29, 1852. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[12] Letter from J. H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Brigham Young, *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah Territory, March 30, 1852. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[13] Holeman to Lea, March 29, 1852.

[14] Letter from J. H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 28, 1851. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[15] Letter from J. H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 28, 1852. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[16] Letter from J. H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Brigham Young, *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah Territory, September 25, 1852. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1852*, pp. 439–45.

[17] Interview with Guy Manning, Willie McKinney, and John Dick, Shoshone, Owyhee, in the 1950's, interviewer Arthur T. Manning (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File # 101).

[18] Holeman to Young, September 25, 1852.

[19] Letter from J. H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 21, 1853. RG 75, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[20] Letter from J. H. Holeman, Indian Agent, to Brigham Young, *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah Territory, September 30, 1853. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1853*, pp. 443–44.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 444.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 445–46.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 446–47.

[24] O. B. Huntington, "A Trip to Carson Valley," *Eventful Narratives* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1887), p. 78.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 80–81.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 94–97.

[29] O. Hyde, Letter to the Editor, *Deseret News*, June 27, 1855.

[30] Letter from Garland Hurt, Indian Agent, July 14, 1855. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[31] Letter from Garland Hurt, Indian Agent for Utah Territory, to Brigham Young, *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah Territory, September 30, 1855. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1855*, p. 197.

THE TREATY OF 1855

[1] Interview with Alice Jackson, 1967, translated by Wick Miller, Elko History Project Files.

[2] Letter from Garland Hurt, Indian Agent for Utah Territory, to Brigham Young, *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs, September 30, 1855. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1855*, p. 198.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 198–99.

[4] Treaty between Garland Hurt, Indian Agent for the Territory of Utah, and the Chiefs, Head Men and Such Warriors of the Sho-sho-nee Nation, August 7, 1855. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[5] Hurt to Young, September 30, 1855, p. 199.

[6] Letter from Garland Hurt, Indian Agent, to Brigham Young, *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah Territory, September 1856. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1856*, p. 227.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Letter from Wm. Armstrong, Indian Agent, to Brigham Young, *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah Territory, September 30, 1856. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[15] Hurt to Young, September 1856, p. 228.

[16] Letter from Brigham Young, *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to James W. Denver, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 12, 1857. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1857*, p. 113.

[17] Letter from Garland Hurt, Indian Agent, to Jacob Forney, Indian Agent, December 4, 1857. U.S. House of Representatives. *The Utah Expedition*, House Doc. 71, 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1857, p. 199.

[18] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), p. 206.

[19] Letter from Jacob Forney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to C.E. Mix, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 6, 1858. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858*, p. 212.

[20] Letter from B.F. Ficklin, to Maj. F.J. Porter, Assistant Adjutant General, Army of Utah, April 15, 1858. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1858*, p. 70.

[21] Letter from A. Cumming, Governor of Utah Territory, to A.S. Johnston, Brevet Brigadier General, Commanding Army of Utah, August 30, 1858, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1858*, p. 142.

[22] Letter from F.J. Porter, Assistant Adjutant General, to Captain J.M. Hawes, 2nd Dragoons, September 2, 1858. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1858*, p. 144.

[23] Letter from A.S. Johnston, Brevet Brigadier General, to Major Irvin McDowell, Assistant Adjutant General, October 12, 1858. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1858*, p. 158.

[24] Letter from Jacob Forney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to Robert Jarvis, Indian Agent, March 5, 1859. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

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[27] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 58–61.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 65–67.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 67–68.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 71–72.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 75–78.

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[38] Statement of Oliver Cromwell, 1858. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

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[42] Letter from A.S. Johnston, Brevet Brigadier General, to Lieut. Col. Lorenzo Thomas, Assistant Adjutant General, November 2, 1859; and letter from Major I. Lynde to Major F.J. Porter, Assistant Adjutant General, October 24, 1859. U.S. Senate, *Message of the President. . .*, Ex. Doc. 42, 36th Cong., 1st sess., 1860, pp. 25–38.

[43] Letter from F.W. Lander to A.B. Greenwood, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 18, 1860. U.S. Senate, *Message of the President. . .*, Ex. Doc. 42, 36th Cong., 1st sess., 1860, p. 130.

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[45] Colonel George Ruhlen, "Early Nevada Forts," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, 7 (1964), p. 48.

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[2] Letter from Wm. Rogers, Farm Agent, to Col. Davies, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, December 18, 1860. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[3] Letter from Benjamin Davies, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to Wm. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 30, 1861. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861*, p. 130.

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[5] Letter from Henry Martin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to Wm. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 1, 1861. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861*, p. 136.

[6] Myron Angel, ed., *Thompson and West's History of Nevada* (1881; rpt. Berkeley: Howell-North, 1958), p. 178.

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[10] Angel, pp. 179–80.

[11] Nye to Dole, February 3, 1862, p. 221.

[12] Letters from James Duane Doty, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to Wm. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 24, February 11, and March 18, 1862. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[13] Letter from Colonel P. Edward Connor to Major Edward McGarry, September 29, 1862. U.S. House of Representatives, *The War of the Rebellion*, House Doc. 59, Series I, Vol. L, 55th Cong., 1st sess., 1897, Part 2, p. 144. Hereafter cited as *War of the Rebellion*.

[14] Letter from Major Edward McGarry to Colonel P. Edward Connor, October 31, 1862. *War of the Rebellion*, Part I, pp. 178–79.

[15] Letter from Major P.A. Gallagher, Commanding Fort Ruby, to Lieutenant Thomas S. Harris, Assistant Adjutant General, December 2, 1862. *War of the Rebellion*, Part I, pp. 183–84.

[16] Letter from Colonel P. Edward Connor to Lieutenant Colonel R.C. Drum, Assistant Adjutant General, December 20, 1862. *War of the Rebellion*, Part 2, p. 257.

[17] Letter from Colonel P. Edward Connor to Colonel R.C. Drum, Assistant Adjutant General, February 6, 1863. *War of the Rebellion*, Part I, pp. 185–86.

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[20] Letter from James Duane Doty, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 10, 1863. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[21] U.S. Senate, *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States: Hearing before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934), Part 28 (Nevada), p. 14855.

[22] Letter from James W. Nye, *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to Wm. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct. 27, 1863. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1863*, p. 416.

[23] *Survey of Conditions*, pp. 14855–56; and letter from Jacob Lockhart, Indian Agent, to Wm. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 7, 1865. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[24] Letter from James W. Nye, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to J.P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior, September 20, 1864. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1864*, pp. 139–40.

[25] Letter from Jacob T. Lockhart, Indian Agent, to James W. Nye, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, September 6, 1864. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1864*, pp. 143–44.

[26] Letter from Capt. George A. Thurston to Capt. M.G. Lewis, Assistant Adjutant General, December 21, 1864. *War of the Rebellion*, Part 2, pp. 1103–4.

[27] *Survey of Conditions*, p. 14860.

[28] Letter from H.G. Parker, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 10, 1866. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1866*, pp. 113–17.

[29] Letter from Franklin Campbell, Indian Agent, to H.G. Parker, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1866. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1866*, pp. 117–20.

[30] Letter from Franklin Campbell, Indian Agent, to H.G. Parker, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, July 1, 1867. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867*, pp. 172–73.

[31] Letter from T.T. Dwight, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to N.G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 27, 1867. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[32] Letter from H.G. Parker, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 10, 1868. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868*, p. 604.

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[1] Letter from Levi Gheen, Farmer in Charge, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, n.d. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1876*, p. 117.

[2] Letter from H. Douglas, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to E.S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 20, 1870. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870*, pp. 94–96.

[3] Letter from Levi Gheen to E.S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 16, 1871. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[4] Douglas to Parker, September 20, 1870, pp. 94–96.

[5] Letter from Levi Gheen, November 30, 1875. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[6] "Report of conversation with Shoshone Indians at Austin, Nev.," May 12, 1870. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[7] Letter from H. Douglas, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Nevada, to E.S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 13, 1870. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870*, pp. 103–4.

[8] *Elko Herald*, August 6, 1870. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[9] Letter from Levi Gheen, May 24, 1871. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[10] Letter from Levi Gheen to C.A. Bateman, June 2, 1872. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[11] Gheen to Parker, February 16, 1871.

[12] Gheen, November 30, 1875.

[13] Gheen to Bateman, June 2, 1872.

[14] J.W. Powell and G.W. Ingalls, Report, December 18, 1873. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873*, pp. 41–71.

[15] Letter from Levi Gheen, March 3, 1877. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[16] Letter from G.W. Ingalls, Special Commissioner, to E.P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 14, 1873. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[17] Gheen, November 30, 1875.

[18] Powell and Ingalls, pp. 60–61.

[19] Petition from G.W. Coddington, *et al.*, to J.H. Kinkead, Governor of Nevada, March 14, 1874. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[20] Letter from C.A. Bateman, Indian Agent, to H.R. Blum, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1874. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[21] Letter from C.A. Bateman, October 27, 1874. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[22] Petitions to C.A. Bateman, December 1874. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[23] Letter from C.A. Bateman, Indian Agent, to E.P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 10, 1875. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875*, p. 342.

[24] Letter from C.A. Bateman to E.P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 6, 1875. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[25] Letter from Levi Gheen, Farmer in Charge, to E.P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 22, 1875. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875*, p. 343.

[26] Letter from A.J. Barnes, Indian Agent, to E.P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 26, 1876. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[27] Gheen to the Commissioner, n.d., pp. 116–17.

[28] Letter from A.J. Barnes, April 23, 1877. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[29] Letter from A.J. Barnes, October 15, 1878. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[30] Letter from John Palmer to Ezra A. Hoyt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 21, 1878. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

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[1] Letter from Paris H. Folsom, Special Agent, to J.D.C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 27, 1885. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

SHOSHONE MIKE

[1] Material compiled from a letter from George B. Haggett, Superintendent of Western Shoshone Indian Agency, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 17, 1911. RG 75, Central Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; also, Effie Mona Mack, *The Indian Massacre of 1911 at Little High Rock Canyon* (Sparks, Nevada: Western Printing and Publishing Company, 1968); and an interview with Auburn Rhodes, Northern Paiute, Lovelock, August 1974, interviewer Norman Rambeau (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #76).

DUCK VALLEY RESERVATION, 1877

[1] Letter from Levi A. Gheen, Farmer in Charge, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 23, 1877. RG 75, B.I.A., Western Shoshone, National Archives, FARC San Bruno, California.

[2] Letter from Levi A. Gheen, November 30, 1875. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[3] Gheen to the Commissioner, August 23, 1877.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Letter from John S. Mayhugh, Indian Agent, to H. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 12, 1882. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[7] Letter from John S. Mayhugh, Indian Agent, to H. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 20, 1882. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[8] Letter from the Secretary of the Interior to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 20, 1882. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[9] Letter from Arden R. Smith, Special Indian Agent, to H. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 20, 1882. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[10] Letter from Arden R. Smith, Special Indian Agent, to H. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 18, 1882. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Letter from Cyrus Beede, Special Indian Agent, to H. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 6, 1884. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[13] Letter from Cyrus Beede, Special Indian Agent, to H. Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 3, 1884. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[14] Letter from John S. Mayhugh, Indian Agent, to J.D.C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 8, 1885. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[15] Letter from J.D.C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to John S. Mayhugh, Indian Agent, May 14, 1886. RG 75, B.I.A., Western Shoshone, National Archives, FARC San Bruno, California.

[16] Duck Valley Planning Commission, Shoshone-Paiute Tribes and Environmental Concern, Inc., Consultants, *General Plan: Duck Valley Indian Reservation, Owyhee, Nevada,* July 1972, p. 17.

[17] Edna B. Patterson, Louise A. Ulph, and Victor Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier* (Sparks, Nevada: Western Printing and Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 58–59.

[18] *General Plan,* pp. 23–27.

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[1] Goshute history compiled from information submitted by Lillie Pete, Goshute, June 24, 1974 (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #92).

BATTLE MOUNTAIN COLONY, 1917

[1] Interview with Minnie Tybo, Shoshone, Owyhee, August 1974, interviewer Arthur T. Manning (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #309).

[2] Dale L. Morgan, *The Humboldt: Highroad of the West* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1943), p. 275.

[3] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (1938; rpt. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), pp. 162–63.

[4] Minnie Tybo, File #309.

[5] LeRoy Hafen and S. Lyman Tyler, "Bands of the Western Shoshones and Goshutes," Ms. prepared for the Plaintiff, Western Shoshone Claims Case, Docket 326, U.S. Indian Claims Commission.

[6] Interview with Josie Carson, Shoshone, Elko, July 8, 1975, interviewer Delores Conklin (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #310).

[7] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas* (Washington: Government Printing Office, n.d.), p. 298.

[8] Delores Conklin, Battle Mountain Tribal Historian, information gathered from Battle Mountain Colony residents, 1976.

[9] *Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas,* p. 298.

[10] Josie Carson, File #310.

[11] *Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas,* p. 298.

ELKO COLONY, 1918

[1] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (1938; rpt. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), p. 155; Larry Piffero provided translations.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 155–59.

[3] Interview with John Couchum, Shoshone, Elko, February 1976, interviewer Larry Piffero (Elko: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada History Project, File #6).

[4] Interview with Dick Richards, Shoshone, Elko, February 1976, interviewer Larry Piffero (Elko: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada History Project, File #9).

[5] Interview with John Couchum, Shoshone, Elko, February 1976, interviewer Jack Woods (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #307).

[6] Letter from C.J. Rhoads, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of the Interior, May 24, 1930. U.S. Senate, Report #1203, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., December 18, 1930.

[7] John Couchum, File #307.

[8] Interview with Sylvia Dick, Shoshone, Elko, January 1976, interviewer Larry Piffero (Elko: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada History Project, File #8).

[9] U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Memorandum, "Independent Organization of Elko Colony and South Fork Shoshone," October 31, 1958.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Interview with Larry Piffero, Shoshone, Elko, January 1976, interviewer Winona L. Holmes (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #309).

[12] Interview with Jack Woods, Shoshone Tribal Chairman, Elko, February 1976 (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #310).

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[1] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (1938; rpt. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), p. 121.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[3] Interview with Marjorie Stark, Shoshone, Ely, 1976, interviewer Mary Lou Moyle (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #315).

[4] Winona Holmes, telephone conversations with Alfred Stanton, Tribal Chairman, Ely Shoshone, and Gilbert Butts, Land Operations, Elko B.I.A. Office, 1976.

[5] *Ibid.*, Alfred Stanton.

[6] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1974), pp. 309–10.

YOMBA RESERVATION, 1937

[1] Material compiled from information submitted by Lavell Smith, Shoshone, Yomba, 1976, interviewer R.J. Eben.

[2] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (1938; rpt. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), pp. 100–106.

[3] Lavell Smith.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Letter from James W. Nye, *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to Wm. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 23, 1862. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862*, pp. 219–20.

[6] Steward, pp. 106–107.

[7] Report of conversation with Shoshone Indians at Austin, Nevada, May 12, 1870. RG 75, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy).

[8] U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Phoenix Area Office, *Natural Resource Study with Emphasis Upon Water: Yomba Indian Reservation*, Project Manager Ted Adamczyk (Phoenix: B.R.I. Systems, Inc., October 25, 1975), p. 9.

[9] Lavell Smith.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 338.

[12] *Natural Resource Study with Emphasis Upon Water*, p. 20.

[13] Lavell Smith.

[14] Levi Hooper, Tribal Chairman, Statements at the Executive Board Meeting of the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976.

[15] *Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas*, p. 338.

DUCKWATER RESERVATION, 1940

[1] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, (1938; rpt. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), pp. 118–19.

[2] Interview with Dannie Millett, Shoshone, Duckwater, February 1976, interviewer Mary Lou Moyle (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #200).

[3] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 305.

[4] Dannie Millett, File #200.

[5] Interview with Robert Nelson, first Principal of the Duckwater Shoshone Elementary School, January 1976, interviewer Winona L. Holmes (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #201).

[6] *Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas*, p. 305.

SOUTH FORK RESERVATION, 1941

[1] Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (1938; rpt. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), p. 159.

[2] Interview with Willie F. Woods, Shoshone, South Fork, February 1976, interviewers Larry Piffero and Sam Long (Elko: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada History Project, File #4).

[3] Interview with John Couchum, Shoshone, Elko, February 27, 1976, interviewer Jack Woods (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #314).

[4] Interview with Raymond Yowell, Jr., Shoshone, South Fork, May 21, 1974, interviewer Winona Holmes (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #315).

[5] John Couchum, File #314.

[6] Raymond Yowell, Jr., File #315.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Larry Piffero, Elko-South Fork Tribal Historian, information gathered from various sources, including the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Elko and the minutes of the Tribal Council, 1976.

[9] Willie F. Woods, File #4.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Memorandum, "Independent Organization of Elko Colony and South Fork Shoshone," October 31, 1958.

[12] Larry Piffero.

[13] Telephone conversation between Lillian Garcia, South Fork Tribal Chairperson, and Winona Holmes, 1976.

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[1] Interview with Isaac Jim, Shoshone, Wells, 1976, interviewer Larry Piffero (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #31).

[2] Interview with Rose Pabawena (age 105), Shoshone, Wells, 1976, interviewer Larry Piffero (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada Archives Project, File #31).

[3] Information on Wells Indian Village submitted by Larry Piffero, Tribal Historian, 1976.

DEATH VALLEY

[1] This section is based on a conversation with Pauline Esteves and Alice Eben, Shoshone, Death Valley, March 4, 1976, interviewer Robert Eben. All subsequent information, unless otherwise noted, comes from this source.

[2] Letter from James B. Thompson, Superintendent, to Robert Eben, January 27, 1975 (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada History Project, 1975 Incoming Correspondence File).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

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